This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

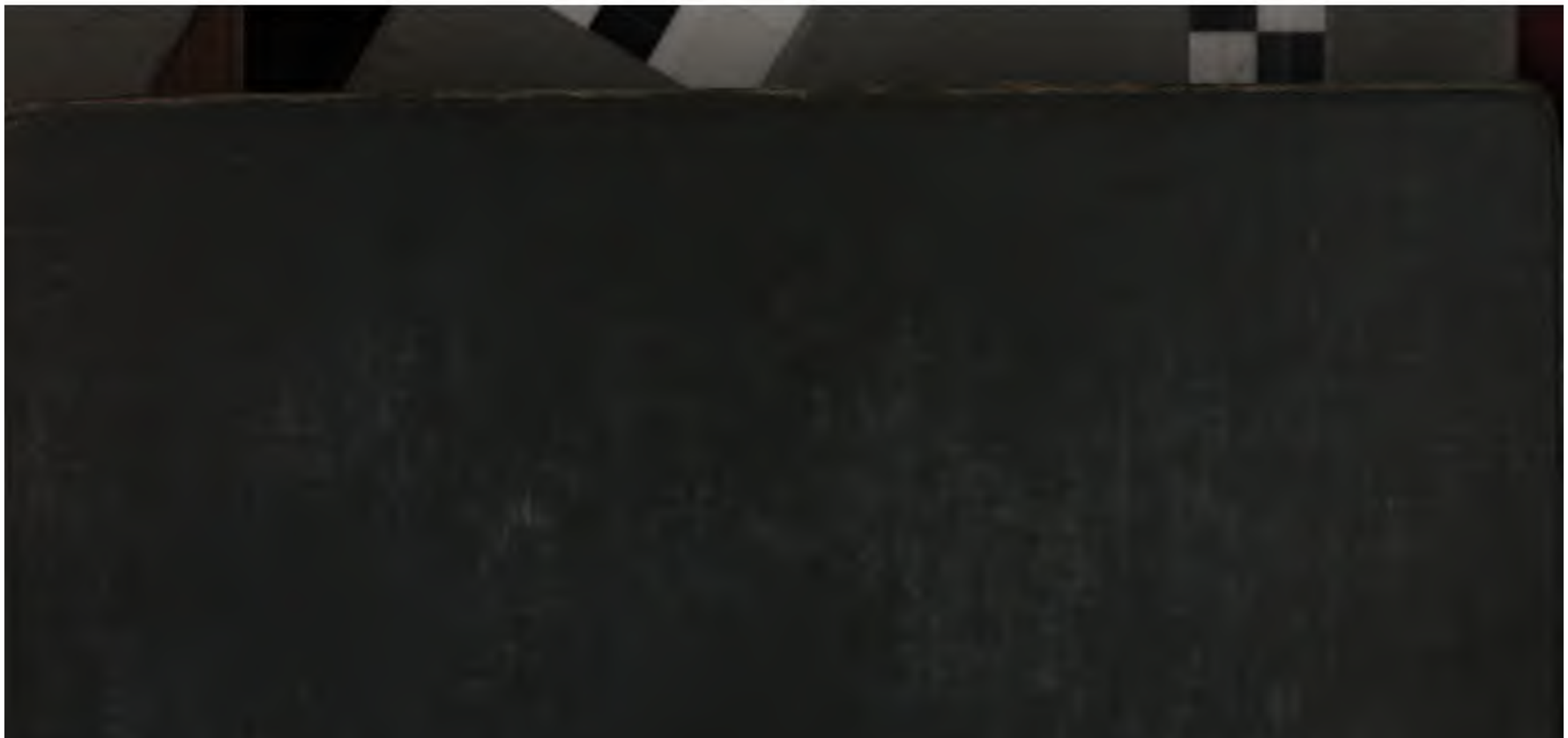
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



575.04
P361

THE CHANCES OF DEATH

AND

OTHER STUDIES IN EVOLUTION

BY

KARL PEARSON, M.A., F.R.S.

PROFESSOR OF APPLIED MATHEMATICS IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

EDWARD ARNOLD

Publisher to the India Office

LONDON 37 BEDFORD STREET

NEW YORK 70 FIFTH AVENUE

1897

LIBRARY OF THE
LELAND STANFORD JR. UNIVERSITY.
a.36797

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

PAGE

9. WOMAN AS WITCH—EVIDENCES OF MOTHER-RIGHT IN THE CUSTOMS OF MEDIÆVAL WITCHCRAFT . . . 1

10. ASHIEPATTLE: OR HANS SEEKS HIS LUCK . . . 51

11. KINDRED GROUP-MARRIAGE—
Part I.—Mother-Age Civilisation . . . 92
„ II.—General Words for Sex and Kinship . 112
„ III.—Special Words for Sex and Relationship . 191

12. THE GERMAN PASSION-PLAY: A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF WESTERN CHRISTIANITY—
1. Introductory 246
2. The Unity of the Passion-Play . . . 256
3. The Spirit of the Passion-Play . . . 269
4. The Growth of the Passion-Play . . . 279
5. The Stage and its Accessories . . . 315
6. Characterisation in the Passion-Play . . . 334
7. The Performers in the great Folk Passion-Plays . 364
8. The Contents of a Sixteenth-Century Passion-Play . 370
9. Summary and Conclusion 397

APPENDIX I. The *Mailehn* and *Kiltgang* . . . 407
„ II. English Sixteenth-Century Church-Plays . 413
„ III. On the Sex-significance of 'Tilth' . . 424
„ IV. On *Gericht* and *Genossenschaft* . . 426

INDEX I. Words and Roots cited in Essay XI. and Appendices I., III., and IV. 433
„ II. Names and Subjects, Volumes I. and II. . . 447

[illegible] THE MIDDLE AGES [illegible] STEPHAN [illegible]

IX

WOMAN AS WITCH[1]

EVIDENCES OF MOTHER-RIGHT IN THE CUSTOMS OF MEDIÆVAL WITCHCRAFT

Quid non miraculo est, cum primum in notitiam venit?—PLINY.

WHEN we seek to investigate the origins of such familiar institutions as ownership and matrimony, we rapidly discover that written history is itself the product of a stage of human development long posterior to that of the origins we are curious about. To speak paradoxically, history begins long before history. Vague and often very unreliable traces of it—traditional history—are to be found in the sagas and hero-songs of bards and scalds. But bards and scalds are themselves an outcome of the heroic age—an age of warlike organisation and of petty chieftains, if not of kings; an age, indeed, when ownership and marriage have already a long history, and are of that patriarchal type which the Bible, if not Maurer or Maine, has made familiar to all of us. This heroic age is, however, a thing but of yesterday—

[1] A lecture given in 1891 at the Somerville Club, but not hitherto published. The lecture is here printed substantially as it was delivered, and accordingly no references are given to the very numerous sources whence information has been drawn.

a civilisation in which man, unhandicapped by child-bearing, is the lord of creation, and woman occupies, socially and tribally, a secondary position. Behind this heroic age, long anterior to the beginnings of traditional history, looms from the dimmest past another and wholly different type of civilisation — a type which appears in most respects to have owed its institutions and its victories over nature to the genius of woman rather than to that of man. It is a type, accordingly, in which the influence of woman is far more prominent than it was in the patriarchal age. This period of civilisation has been termed the matriarchate, but to avoid the dogma that it was necessarily and universally a period of woman's rule, I prefer to term it the mother-age, and refer to its customs of ownership and family as Mother-Right.

So long as our only history was the history of chronicles and monuments, themselves products of a late stage of human growth, traces of the mother-age must remain few and far between; such even as crossed the path of the historian were either misinterpreted or attributed to the vagaries of individual tribes or groups. But now, in our own time, when history is becoming scientific, when, to again speak paradoxically, there is such a thing as *prehistoric* history,—to-day, when we study history comparatively, and see in it a growth of folk-customs and social institutions stretching far back before written language and written laws,—to-day we begin to appreciate better these traces of the mother-age. We put together the fossils provided by pre-historic history, what philology, folklore, and archæology

have to tell us of a civilisation in which the woman was all-prominent, and the comparison of this fossil civilisation with the habits of semi-civilised races still scattered about the world enables us to draw up the general scheme of a society which preceded the patriarchal, and from which the patriarchate itself sprung. The key-note to this older civilisation was the development of woman's inventive faculty under the stress of child-bearing and child-rearing disabilities. The mother-age —in diverse forms, it is true,—has been a stage of social growth for probably all branches of the human race. The broad outlines of it seem to me to be now firmly established, if the details must obviously, owing to difference of climate, period of development, and other circumstances, be diverse in character, and if the more minute features, owing to the obscurity and failure of the record, must often be matter of hypothesis and subject for dispute.

The mother-age, with its mother-right customs, was a civilisation, as I have indicated, largely built up by woman's activity, and developed by her skill; it was an age within the small social unit of which there was more community of interest, far more fellowship in labour and partnership in property and sex, than we find in the larger social unit of to-day. For this reason both socialists and workers for the emancipation of women are apt at the present time to look back to this early stage of civilisation as to a golden age, and to paint in its details in colours which render them untrue to fact, and destroy any suggestiveness they might otherwise have for the future growth of our own society. The mother-

age was frequently cruel in its rites and licentious in its customs, and these charges are still true if we judge it not by the standards of to-day, but by that of the patriarchate which succeeded it. It was a less efficient and a less stable social system than the latter, or it would not have perished in the struggle with it.[1] I for one rejoice that it perished, as I rejoice that the patriarchal system perished, or that the individualism of to-day is perishing. One and all have been fruitful as successive stages of growth, yet they can never recur, and only the fanatic or visionary could wish that they should recur, for each is narrow and insufficient from the standpoint of a later stage. Yet insight into what has been is of special value to us to-day; it shows us that morality and social institutions are peculiar to each age and to each civilisation; it shows us that growth, if never very rapid, is ever continuous. It teaches us that those who prate of absolute good and bad, and of an unchanging moral code, may help to police an existing society, but that they cannot reform it. To successfully initiate reform needs the historical spirit—the conception that social institutions, however time-honoured and sacred, have but relative value, and are ever adjusting themselves, as well as freely adjustable, to the needs of social growth. But it is not only a true estimate of the plastic character of customs and social systems which

[1] If the reader will put aside for a time the classical and biblical impressions of childhood, and recognise in Romans and Jews two early races who came victorious out of the struggle for existence because they were patriarchal variations amid a widespread mother-right civilisation, he will find immense pleasure in reinterpreting the legends of early Roman history with its struggles of patricians and plebeians, as well as in fully grasping for the first time the exact historical bearing of the Jewish backslidings, which led to the worship of the golden calf and the adoration of the woman in scarlet.

may be formed from a study of prehistoric civilisation. Our age, which is working for scarcely yet formulated changes in the ownership of property and in the status of woman, must gain special insight from the study of a period, however far back in a semi-barbaric past, however incapable of future repetition, which yet to a great extent realised, albeit on a narrow stage, what many to-day would without qualification term socialism and the emancipation of women. To have said so much is to have amply justified a study of the mother-age.

In a brief and necessarily insufficient paper, such as the present must be, several courses were open to me. In the first place, I might have given you in outline a sketch of what I conceive the old mother-age to have been like, and perhaps pointed out the general stages of its development, for it embraces not a single but many phases of civilisation. Had I done so, however, I should have been asking you to take a very great deal on faith; I should have been appealing for that faith to your emotional side as women, to your partisan spirit, or to your belief that I should not speak without having my evidence pigeon-holed somewhere. Now, such an appeal to faith is contrary to my whole theory of the manner in which knowledge ought to be gained and opinion formed. The only true road to knowledge and the resulting conviction lies through doubt and scepticism, and any general sketch I might have given could at best only legitimately serve to stimulate doubt, and to incite others to undertake for themselves the collection and interpretation of facts. The second course open to me would have been to overwhelm you with the most

telling facts in favour of my theory, *i.e.* that most of the work of early civilisation was due to women. To have done this, however, would not only have been to deprive some of you of the pleasure of discovering these facts for yourselves; it would have failed also to indicate how much of interest can be extracted from a more detailed investigation of a comparatively narrow field—a field which we can all enter without either unlocking or jumping over the five-barred gate of philology. I purpose therefore to lay before you to-night no general sketch, no mass of evidence, but simply to discuss a few of the phases of mediæval witchcraft which seem to me fossils of the old mother-age. I shall have done more than I can reasonably hope for if I shall succeed in convincing you that witchcraft was not a mere fantastic and brutal imagination of a superstitious age, that its beliefs and practices were more or less perverted rites and customs of a prehistoric civilisation, and that the confessions wrung from poor old women in the torture chambers of the Middle Ages have a real scientific value for the historian of a much earlier social life. I hold that the folk-habits and family customs of the mother-age remained as obscure traditions in the women of the folk; that they were surrendered, in what at first sight seems perfectly futile suffering, to form an apparently worthless record of human stupidity and religious cruelty. Yet from another standpoint this record, and therefore the suffering, will not have been without avail, if they can provide any facts which may assist us in understanding the growth of human societies, and which may at the same time help us to estimate more justly

the real contributions of woman to early civilisation. As we have seen, nothing is more helpful to us in endeavouring to measure the social forces at work to-day than a true conception of the plastic character of social institutions when we examine their growth during long periods. That the status of woman varies with both time and place is an invaluable concept at the present juncture, and the woman of to-day will owe a debt of gratitude to the mediæval witch if it can be shown that the record of her suffering furnishes facts which go a long way to demonstrate that primitive woman had a status widely divergent from that of woman in the present or in the patriarchal age.

In order to group my facts, I am going to briefly sketch a form of social life which you will kindly look upon as merely hypothetical. If in our inquiries as to witchcraft we find customs which appear meaningless except as fossils of such a state of society, then I think, while still looking upon it as hypothetical, we may venture to consider its further investigation a reasonable task. Finally, if those of you who pursue the matter for yourselves, should find exactly similar fossils in early language, in the folklore of birth and marriage, in primitive law, in hero-legend and saga, and in the customs of still extant barbarous peoples, — fossils which no other hypothesis unites into a living whole —then, I think, the hypothetical mother-age will become for some of you what it is for me, an historical fact.

Let us try to conceive a group of individuals in which inheritance is through the mother, where the

husband and father in the earliest stages are probably not individualised, and where even, in the later stages, they have no position whatever as husband or father in the wife's or child's group; where the relationship of father and child conveys no inheritance from the one to the other, and is associated with no rights. The closest male relations of the woman are her son and her brother, and she is the conduit by which property passes to and from them. The child's position and its group-rights are entirely determined by its mother, and the maternal uncle is the natural male friend and protector of the child. Such a law of inheritance may be briefly summarised as *mother-right.* It would clearly give a prominent position to the woman in the group. She would be at least the nominal head of the family, the bearer of its traditions, its knowledge, and its religion. Hence we should expect to find that the deities of a mother-right group were female, and that the primitive goddesses were accompanied not by husband but by child or brother. The husband and father being insignificant or entirely absent, there would thus easily arise myths of virgin and child, brother and sister deities. The goddess of the group would naturally be served by a priestess rather than by a priest. The woman as depositary of family custom and tribal lore, the wise-woman, the sibyl, the witch, would hand down to her daughters the knowledge of the religious observances, of the power of herbs, the mother-lore in the mother tongue, possibly also in some form of symbol or rune such as a priestly caste love to enshroud their mysteries in. The symbols of these goddesses would be the

symbols of woman's work and woman's civilisation, the distaff, the pitchfork, and the broom, not the spear, the axe, and the hammer. Since agriculture in its elements is essentially due to women, hunting and the chase characteristic of men, the emblems of early agriculture would also be closely associated with the primitive goddess. The smaller domestic animals, the goat, the boar, the goose, and the cock and hen, would be connected with her worship. The earth, as a symbol of fertility, would be brought into close relationship with the mother deity. She would be a goddess of agriculture and of child-birth, of reproductivity in the soil, of fecundity in animals, and of fertility in man. Her shrine would be the hearth and fire round which the women spin and weave and cook, or it might be the clearing in the forest, the fructifying stream or well, the hilltop, where originally there was the palisaded dwelling of a group, and where cultivation first appeared. The group in such a dwelling would have a common life, common work, and common meals. In particular, the group gatherings would become high festivals, at those lunar and solar changes which mark the seasons and periods of agricultural fruitfulness and animal fertility. Such gatherings, held on the hilltops, or by ancient trees or springs, would be marked by the performance of religious rites, by the common meal, the choral dance, and in many cases by the ribald song, and by the gross licentiousness which characterises the worship of a goddess of fertility. In all these features we should expect to find the women taking an equal, if not a leading part, responsible alike

for the communism of the kin-group, and for the license and cruelty of its religious rites.

Looking at such a hypothetical phase of civilisation as I have sketched above, where, if it had once existed, should we expect to still find fossils of it? Clearly in the primitive words for relationship and sex, in the folklore of early agriculture; in the folklore of distaff, of pitchfork, and of broom; in the myths of primitive female deities; in the customs of the mediæval spinning-room; in peasant customs at marriage and birth; in folk-festivals on high holidays, especially spring and harvest feasts, with their faint reflexes in children's games; in peasant dances and songs; in early religious ceremonies, whether adopted by primitive Christianity, or driven by it into dark corners as witchcraft; in the sagas of primitive and titanic women, already in the heroic age fossils of an earlier period—such, for instance, as the stories of Clytemnestra and Medea, of Brunhilda and Gudrun. If there be any truth in our hypothesis, not only will fossils be found in these various places, but these fossils themselves will be strangely linked together, and by piecing and comparing them it will be possible to reconstruct a whole. We should expect to find related, if not identical, customs in the spinning-room of the Middle Ages and in peasant marriage ceremonies; in the observances of witchcraft, and in the veneration of local saints; in May Day celebrations, and in the licentious worship of Walpurg on the Brocken.

In order to find examples of these linked fossils let us, in the first place, go back to some primitive

phases of Germanic witchcraft, and mark in what manner it comes into contact with early Germanic Christianity.

We have, in the first place, to note how essentially the ideas of witchcraft and of witches are associated with *women;* and then to observe that the further we go back into the days of early Christianity and pre-Christianity, the less is the stigma which attaches to the witch. It must be remembered that it was only at the commencement of the fourteenth century that witchcraft was finally associated with heresy, and that these two imputations rolled into one became either a powerful instrument of oppression wielded by an all-powerful Church, or a deadly but often double-edged weapon of revenge in the hands of private individuals. Occasionally, indeed, they served the purpose of a cold-blooded political expediency. The name *witch* itself signifies the woman who *knows*, the wiseacre, and denotes rather a good than a bad attribute. Indeed, we find the witches themselves termed *bonae dominae*, the "good dames," and their gatherings the *ludum bonae societatis*, "the sport of the good company." Even till quite late times we hear of white and black witches—that is, those who work good and bad magic. "Wise men and wise women," writes Cotta, "reputed a kind of good and honest harmles witches or wizards, who by good words, by hallowed herbes, and salves, and other superstitious ceremonies, promise to allay and calme divels, practises of other witches, and the forces of many diseases." The "white" or "blessing witch" revealed mischiefs and removed evils from the bodies of men and

animals. The witch who, according to the Augsburg tradition, threw off her clothes, mounted a black horse and drove the Huns from before the town, or the witch of Beutelsbach, who led out a bull crowned with flowers in solemn procession to be buried alive, and so cured the cattle plague, must have possessed this friendly character. In such traditions the witch resumes her old position as the wise woman, the medicine woman, the leader of the people, the priestess accompanying the victim to the altar. Such a white witch or folk-leader was Joan of Arc. In her trial for sorcery we read that in the neighbourhood of Domfrein was an ancient oak dedicated to a fay—in other words, the sacrificial oak of an old mother-goddess—and by this oak a spring—the goddess's spring, which recurs so often in May Day ceremonies. At this oak by night the witches and evil spirits used to congregate, especially on Thursdays, and dance and sing round it, crowning the oak and spring with garlands of flowers and herbs. According to the extant accounts of the trial, Joan admitted that she knew of this oak and of the ceremonies attached to it. Looking back now, we are not inclined to doubt this; we see in the oak and well only the sacred spot of an old mother-goddess, and in the ceremonies that went on just the fossils of an old worship—such as may still be found in hundreds of German villages—preserved as peasant customs. The point to be noted is that these customs are precisely those which are attributed to the midnight witch-gatherings. Witch-gatherings and peasant ceremonies are relics of ancient, social, and religious rites which were not only considered at one time

good, but the performance of which it would have been impious to neglect.

We have accordingly to look upon the witch as essentially the degraded form of the old priestess, cunning in the knowledge of herbs and medicine, jealous of the rights of the goddess she serves, and preserving in spells and incantations such wisdom as early civilisation possessed. She is the lineal descendant of the Vola or Sibyl who, in the Edda, is seated in the midst of the assembly of gods, and from whom Woden himself must inquire his fate. She is also the lineal descendant of the priestesses who, Strabo tells us, stood before the Cimbrian army and read auguries in the blood of their human sacrifices. The witch, like the priestess, is reputed to have power over the weather, nor is the reason far to seek. If we admit, as we must do, that women were the earliest agriculturists, then we understand how they must have observed the course of the seasons and the signs of the weather. Their weather-lore was like that of the peasant, who will often startle the town-bred stranger by a promise on the most glorious of mornings of bad weather towards night. The old Chaldean astronomers obtained the reputation of magicians, because they had learnt by experience the nineteen years' cycle of moon and sun, and could predict eclipses. Plutarch tells us that Aganike, daughter of Hegetor of Thessaly, befooled the Thessalonian maidens by using her knowledge of coming eclipses "to draw the moon out of the sky." A weather-wisdom, a power of foreseeing coming changes, is what we have to attribute to the old priestesses and woman-agriculturists.

It was a knowledge which appeared to the folk as magic, and its fossils are to be found in the power attributed to latter-day witches of producing thunder and hail at will. Learned in medicine, cunning in weather, leader of the folk in sacrifice, such appear to be the characteristics of the old priestess as fossilised in the attributes of the mediæval witch. Let us pursue these ideas further into the ceremonies and symbols of early witchcraft.

The equivalent for witch in modern German is *Hexe*, but in the oldest forms it appears as *hagazusa*, *hagetisse* (Swiss *hagsch*, and our English *hag*). The *hagetisse* can, I think, mean nothing else than the woman of the *Hag*, *Hagen*, or *Gehag*—that is, the fenced or staked enclosure. This might mean, and likely enough in later times was used for the *grove* or sacred *Hain* of the goddess, but in early times it far more probably referred to the fenced dwelling of a clan or group.[1] This fenced dwelling as home of the group was the seat of its deity, and the transition from the tribal mother to priestess, from fenced dwelling to sacred enclosure, is natural and direct. But the origin of witch in the woman of the *Gehag* is of considerable interest, for it suggests a male correlative in the *Hagestalt*, the *Stalt*, or male servant, fighter, domestic of the *Gehag*. The *Hagestalt* is the man who has not his own household, the member of the *Gehag* group. In the Rheinpfalz it means to-day the man without children, whether he be married or not. Later on it came to be used for the *wifeless* man, and ultimately in

[1] See Essay XI. for a further discussion of the whole subject of the *Hag*.

Modern German *Hagestolz* is used for the confirmed old bachelor.[1] Why should the man of the old *Gehag* have handed down his name to the confirmed bachelor of to-day? The gradual changes in the significance of the word are easy to suggest, if we remember that in the mother-age descent was reckoned through the woman, the man was childless, or rather only related in a vague manner either to his sister's children or to all the children of the group. To the men of the patriarchal civilisation the *Gehag* man was not only childless but wifeless; the old group-marriage was for them no marriage at all, and the *Hagestolz* became the confirmed bachelor.

If we halt here for a minute, we see that the German name for witch is carrying us into a new phase of early civilisation, which we shall also find fossilised in witchcraft. Namely, to a group of men and women living in a palisaded dwelling, with a form of marriage totally different from what we call marriage to-day. It was a form of marriage which was a needful step in the growth of civilisation, and therefore moral in its day. But there is little wonder that the early Christian missionaries looked upon it as complete license; that the hag or woodwoman, with her strange magical powers over weather and cattle and young children, with her mysterious ceremonies at ancient trees, springs, and on hilltops; that the common meals, night dances, weird and occasionally horrible sacrifices to strange goddesses, that the group rites of marriage and views

[1] From the present standpoint it is noteworthy that in many parts of Germany the old local laws gave the property of the *Hagestolz* on his death, whether he made a will or not, or left blood relatives or not, to the *state*.

on relationship, were all unholy, licentious, and diabolical in the extreme. What the missionary could he repressed, the more as his church grew in strength; what he could not repress he adopted or simply left unregarded. Allemania was Christianised by the individual missionary, and the mother-goddesses became local saints of the Catholic Church. Saxony was Christianised by the edge of the sword, and scarcely a single Saxon goddess has crept into the Roman calendar. What the missionary tried to repress became mediæval witchcraft; what he judiciously disregarded survives to this day in peasant weddings and in the folk-festivals at the great changes of season. The licentiousness of witchcraft is not then a merely repulsive feature of mediæval superstition; it is to be looked upon as a fossil and degraded form of marriage characteristic of a totally different phase of civilisation from our own or from the patriarchal. It marks very clearly the good and bad features of the old mother-age.

Let me try and carry you back for a moment to those days when early Christianity met the fragments of the old civilisation, already decaying. When women dancing at night round the sacred trees and wells, torch or candle in hand, when the common meal, the sacrifice, the choral song, had not been stamped as witchcraft, but were characteristic of the great religious *fêtes* of the old worship and the matrimonial rites of the group. The missionary built his church near the old sacred spots, the priestesses of yore the witches of the coming ages—did not cease their rites on that account. Choruses

of maidens singing the *winileod* or choral love-song, and accompanied by groups of men, invaded the churches and prepared their common meals inside. A statute of St. Boniface, dated 803, forbids choruses of laymen and maidens to sing and feast in the churches. So early as 600 St. Eligius forbids, on the festival of St. John (Midsummer Day), dancing and capering, and carols and diabolical songs. While even in the ninth century Benedictus Levita must order that, "when the populace come to church, it shall only do there what belongs to the service of God. In very truth, these dances and capers, these disgraceful and lewd songs, must not be performed either in the churchyards or the houses of God, nor in any other place, because they remain from the custom of the heathens." Here in contact with early Christianity we have clearly the chief features of the primitive worship, or of later witchcraft with its prominent place for the priestesses or witches. The old faith has not yet been broken down, and its rites have not yet disappeared into the byways of peasant marriages, folk-festivals, and witchcraft. Shall we take one more glance at those maidens with their *winileod* or love-songs, their torchlight dances, and common meal? Here is a fossil of three or four hundred years later date, which I found, to my great delight, in an old Friesian law-book. After the bridal feast—the relic of the old common group meal—the bride is to be brought to the bridegroom's house at night in the following manner:—

That this free Friesian woman shall come into the house of the free Friesian man with sound of horns, with

a company of neighbours, with burning brands and *winnasonge.*

I am quite sure if St. Boniface had met by night such a procession he would have ascribed it to the old pagan worship, while to Alfons de Spina, or a mediæval inquisitor, it would have been an undoubted witch-gathering.

But let us follow the remnants of these old gatherings round the Christian churches a little further, just to convince ourselves that witchcraft and its observances have their origin in old religious rites belonging to a totally different civilisation to our own. I select only one or two examples of these fossils.

In Darmstadt near Hallerstadt the people were in the habit of dancing round the church during the sermon, till, according to tradition, they wore out the deep ditch which surrounds the church.

In Scotland, before the Reformation, we hear of ball being played in church. "A ball being brought in, the Dean began a chant suited to Easter Day, and then taking the ball in his left hand commenced a dance to the tune, others of the priests dancing round hand in hand. At intervals the ball was tossed by the Dean to each of the choristers, the organ playing music appropriate to their various antics, until it was time to give over and retire to take refreshment." This ball-play,[1] with dancing and song followed by refreshment, is singularly characteristic of the old heathen rites—the bride-ball and songs of the German maidens at Easter. Not only were public games at ball played at Easter and Whitsuntide, but ball-money was forced from wed-

[1] Compare the Magdalen *in gaudio* in Essay XII.

ding parties at the church doors, so that the game is peculiarly associated with high festivals and marriage feasts. We may note, too, the decoration of the churches in Hesse on May Day, and the solemn procession with the Maypole round the church. Remarkable in the same respect is the "playing of the stag," to which reference occurs in a number of penitential books and homilies. Men on New Year's Day clothed themselves in the skin of a stag, with its horns upon their heads, and were accompanied by other men *dressed in woman's clothing.* In this costume, with licentious songs and drinking, they proceeded to the doors of the churches, where they danced and sung with extraordinary antics. Tacitus, in his *Germania*, tells us of a priest clothed as a woman, and when men first usurped the office of priestess, there is little doubt that they clothed as women. Hence the men dressed as women who occur in so many Twelfth Day, May Day, and Midsummer Day celebrations, are, I think, fossils of the old priestesses, often occurring with fossils of the old sacrificial animal. The "playing of the stag" at the church doors seems to me, therefore, another relic of the old religious rites accompanied by choral dance and licentious song.

Closely allied to these heathen ceremonies outside the Christian churches is the German peasant *Kirchweih* or *Kirmes*, a festival supposed to be held in memory of the dedication of a church. But the whole festival is heathen in character. The *Kirmes* often lasts or lasted three to four days. Its chief feature was the dancing under the linden tree, or round a special

pole or tree put up for the purpose. There was prolonged feasting with a special *Kirmes* soup, *Kirmes* goose, and flat cakes; there was drinking of a beer especially brewed doubly strong for the occasion. While *Kirmesfreier* and *Kirmesliebe* denote a lover and love which last only three days. Noteworthy is the custom in the Saxon Obererzgebirge of solemnly slaughtering a swine at *Kirmes*. In the same district musicians, accompanied by a man in gay woman's clothing, called the *Kirmesweib*, go about collecting food for a common feast. In Bavaria, as in Saxony, the main features of *Kirmes* are the same, only perhaps the ceremonies approach still more closely those of May Day. There is dancing round the linden tree or a pole, the choice of two maidens as queens of the *fête*, the wreaths of flowers, the burial of a sacrifice, in some cases the mock burial of a human being, and the free feast to which all are expected to freely give, and of which all may freely partake. Before leaving the subject of *Kirmes*, it should be noted that a swine or sow as emblem of fertility is frequently offered to the goddess of fertility. As examples may be cited the boar's head of Freya, the goddess of love, and the sow sacrificed to Ceres, representing the productivity of the earth.

One word more before we leave the subject of the relation of the old religious rites to the churches. In the Dunninger Kapelle in Rottweil, and in various other chapels of the same district, offerings are made of *brooms*, with in some cases the special hope of curing boils. This offering of the broom is noteworthy, as we shall see that it is especially the symbol of the female

deities associated with witchcraft. We must turn now to the bearing of all these instances on witchcraft. What I think they have clearly brought out is the fact that the characteristic features of witch-gatherings, the common feast, the choral dance, the sacrifice under the sacred tree, the presiding spirit of woman, are all features of the old heathenism, as marked by cases in which that heathenism has not been repressed, but associated itself with Christian buildings or Christian ceremonies. Before we note the relation of the *Walpurgisnacht* orgies to May Day celebrations, it may be well to meet two objections which may be rising in the minds of some of my hearers. How, they may be questioning, can the choral dances of flower-decked maidens in honour of some mother-goddess be associated with the revels of hags and hideous old witches centring round the devil? How, they may further question, can the nightmare fantasies of the Middle Ages have any relation to facts having a real historical basis like the old heathen customs? I will reply to the second of these questions first, by showing that the midnight gatherings were real even in the sixteenth century and not fantasy at all; that they insensibly shaded off into the ordinary folk-assemblies such as those on the eve of May Day. Then I will endeavour to prove that the witches were in early times rather young and beautiful than old and haggard; and lastly, that the witch ceremonials appear to have centred round a female deity, who may have been accompanied in some cases by her son, and that it was due to the influence of Christian demonology that this goddess was first converted into the devil's grand-

mother or mother, and ultimately the chief functions of the witch's sabbath devolved upon her son, taken to be the devil himself.

Perhaps some of the Swabian witch-trials provide us with the most valuable evidence in this matter. In Günzburg the witches meet on the *Höwberg*, the Bresgau witches on the *Kandel*, a mountain in the Black Forest, and in particular at a stone called the *Kandelstein*, probably a trace of an old altar. Here their most skilful piper was the bailiff of Niederwinden. In the *Nagolder Wäldle* the witches danced on a meadow, while in Oberstdorf they meet at the chapel of the fourteen *Nothelfer*, saints who assist women in childbirth. This chapel was called the witch's chapel, and evidently had been placed upon the site of an altar to an old mother-goddess. All these points are brought out in the protocols of actual witch-trials. But the Rottenburger witch-trials (1600) give us still further details. We learn from Anna Mauczin that the witch-gatherings were called *Hochzeiten*, and treated as a type of marriage feast; we learn from Anna Kegreifen the names of the actual people (including the priest's servant) who came to the dances; we find on the one hand disappointed or deserted wives and foolish village maidens, on the other village loafers and students from Tübingen, who joined in the midnight dances, and the feasting and drinking beneath the *Nunenbaum*, or by the well at the upper gate of Rottenburg. The trials bring out clearly enough who came to these witches' sabbaths; how the usual piper was a well-known shepherd, but on some occasions one was brought specially from

Tübingen. Here I will cite a few questions from a confession. The supposed witch was asked if she had been at a witch-dance, and replied, "Yes, for she was there initiated as a witch." Who had taken her to it? "The old shepherd's wife had fetched her, and they had gone with a broom." Did she mean that they had flown through the air on a broom? "Certainly not; they had walked to Etterle, and then placed themselves across the broom, and so come on to the dancing green." So they had not gone through the air? "Certainly not; that required an ointment, which ought only to be very rarely used." Who were on the dancing green? "Witches and their sweetheart-devils" (*Buhlteufeln*). Had she a sweetheart-devil? "Yes! the Sniveller." Did she not fear this devil? "No, he was only a sweetheart-devil." Was there a difference between a sweetheart-devil and other devils? "Why, of course! The sweetheart-devil was no real devil, only a witch's sweetheart like the 'Sniveller,' who was old Zimmerpeterle's son."

Here we have a most remarkable confession, showing that the witch-gatherings were real meetings, that the women took with them the symbol of the old hearth or home goddess, the broom (or in some cases the fire-fork, *Feuergabel*), that the devils were real men of the neighbourhood. Further, that the broom was ridden like a hobby-horse on to the dancing green. This riding of broom or the pitchfork, or even the goat, should be taken in conjunction with the riding of the hobby-horse[1] or wooden goat round the village by the young

[1] This occurs in many places. Note particularly Grossgottern, in Thüringen, where, at Whitsuntide in the forties of this century, men dressed as women

men at peasant festivals in parts of Germany. Both seem closely connected with the worship of a female deity, whose symbols are those of the hearth and primitive agriculture. When we remember that the great witch dances to which students, and even doctors, of Tübingen used to go out were especially held on the eve of the first of May, how suggestive is the statement that "people of quality in the old days used to go from London to dance in the villages of Essex on May Day!"

The close connection between *Walpurgisnacht*, the eve of the first of May, and May Day itself must ever be kept in view. On the latter day we have the May queen and her maidens decorating the tree or well of the mother-goddess; on the former night we have a distorted image of the May-Day ceremonies, truer in some respects, all the same, to the old mother-age civilisation. Links between the two will be found in sagas which make the witches beautiful maidens with flowing robes, dancing and feasting to the most entrancing music. Such sagas are not uncommon, particularly in Westphalia. But perhaps a closer link may be found in the custom of choosing maidens on *Walpurgisnacht* as sweethearts for the year. This occurs in the Lahn district, and is termed the *Mailehn*, or *May-fee*. The youths march out on this night with cracking of whips and with song. Then one of their number stands upon a hillock or stone, and calls out the names of maid and youth pair by pair, adding: "In this year to wed." Each pair must then keep together at all the dances of the year;

went about on hobby-horses collecting food for a common meal, and were termed *Huren*. In the evening there was a great drinking bout, feasting and dancing. In Beverley Minster on one of the *misericords* is depicted a man on a hobby-horse.

the maiden places a wreath round the hat of her sweetheart, and the evening ends in feasting and drinking. In other parts of Hesse the fee-calling takes place at *Kirmes*, and the couple only dance together for the *Kirmes*. Both periods remind us, however, of the *Kirmes* lover, or "three-day sweetheart"; we are clearly dealing with a fossil of the old temporary sex-relationship. In Oberndorf, in Swabia, a like ceremony occurs at Midsummer Day, another great heathen and witch festival. This ceremony is called the *Weiberdingete*, or wife-hire, and consists in each man taking his wife to the village inn. The wife asks: "Will you hire your old wife again for another year?" The husband answers: "Yes, I'll try it again with my old wife." Feasting, singing, and drinking go on till midnight, and the wife, it should be noted, pays the score.

A similar institution was the *Handfasting* in Eskdalemuir at the annual fair, where the unmarried of both sexes selected partners for the space of one year. If they were satisfied with the marriage, they continued again after the year, but if not they separated. This old Scottish custom seems to have combined the May-fee and the wife-hire. All are most noteworthy, as indicating that the licentious extravagances of the witch-gatherings point back to a form of marriage totally different from that of the patriarchal system, and peculiar to an age when the status of woman in both social and religious matters was far freer than it could be after the advent of Christianity and the martial organisation which accompanied the age of the folk-wanderings.

If, then, I have indicated that we must look upon the witch-gatherings as fossils of high festivals for dancing, feasting, and the choice of sweethearts by the younger folk, I have still to show that the devil as master of the ceremonies is a late importation. I can do this best by citing to you the legend of the Bensberg in the Herkenrath district. Here there is a spot in the forest termed the *weichen Hahn*, which appears to be a corruption of the *wichen Hain*, or sacred grove. At this place, according to tradition, there are great witch-gatherings on May night and Midsummer night. Over these gatherings the devil and his grandmother preside. Three lads who once went as unobserved spectators were, according to the legend, astonished by the number of witches present, and by a grandeur of which they had never dreamt. Upon a resplendent throne, the jewels of which lighted up the wood, sat the she-devil in youthful beauty, at her feet sat her grandson, the devil himself, and in a large half-ring round stood the witches, who kept flying in. Then the witches began a rhythmic movement with song and resonant music, ever bending towards the throne. The devil's grandmother consecrated them with water from a golden vessel, using instead of the usual water-sprinkler a bunch of green ears of corn, which she carried in her right hand; in her left hand she held a beautiful golden apple. All the witches appeared young[1] and active maidens of astonishing beauty, such as the observers had never before seen, and the music sung was sweeter than any they had ever heard.

It is true that when the lads' presence was dis-

[1] Compare the young witch in Baldung Grien's cut, p. 30.

covered all things became hideous and horrible, but the legend retains its significance all the same. The devil as a minor person seated at the feet of his grandmother, who with corn ears and apple is obviously a goddess of the harvest like Ceres, worshipped by fair maidens with dance and song. I know no legend more striking than this in the manner in which it shows the origin of witch ceremonies in the old worship of a goddess of fertility by her woman devotees. But this same superiority of the devil's mother or grandmother over the devil is marked whenever we find traditions about them.[1] She cajoles him and wheedles secrets out of him, and at Soest is said even for a time to have banished him to the Brocken in the Harzgebirge on account of his idleness. Not only in Westphalia, but right away down to the Danube, we find traces of the devil's mother as a person of great importance. She builds a palace on the Danube, she hunts with black dogs in the night through Swabia, and wherever the devil himself can achieve nothing there he sends his mother.

The devil's dam, hunting with black dogs through the night, directly associates this goddess with a number of female deities who ride with their dogs and a wild following through the dark on Twelfth Night, May Day, Midsummer Eve, or at Yule-tide. Thus in Mecklenburg, Frau Gode, described as a weather-witch, hunts through the night, sometimes on a white horse, sometimes on a sleigh drawn by dogs. She eats human flesh, she brings the plague, and no spinning must be done on the nights

[1] The fact that we hear of the *Teufelsstiefbruder* but never of his father is also not without value as determining the mother-age character of the civilisation, from which this mother and son dual deity took its origin.

when she is abroad. In Thüringen, Frau Holda or Holla rides with the wild hunt on *Walpurgisnacht.* She looks after spinning, and punishes in the most brutal and cruel fashion the idle as well as those who insult her. She, too, is accompanied by her dogs. In Hesse, Frau Holle yearly passes over the land, and gives it fruitfulness. She can be friendly and helpful to her worshippers. She has her dwelling in a mere or well, and she makes women who go and bathe therein healthy and fruitful. Only a century ago songs used to rise to Frau Holle as the women dressed the flax, and to her sacred hill peasants and their wives were wont to go at Whitsuntide with music and dancing. A scarcely less noteworthy figure is that of Berchta with her plough. She waters the meadows, and on Twelfth Night she goes her round to punish idle spinsters, often in the most brutal manner. In Swabia, on Twelfth Night, a broom is carried in her procession, or she is represented with a broom in one hand and fruit in the other. This list of goddesses might be largely extended did our time permit; but it may serve, as it is, to show that the devil's mother is only a degraded form of a goddess of fertility and domestic activity. She is but one of those goddesses whose symbols are those of agriculture, the pitchfork and the plough, or of domestic usefulness, the broom and the spindle. She is associated with symbols of fertility, the ears of corn, fruit, the swine, and the dog. Her well brings with its water fertility to the land and fruitfulness to women. Her worship is associated with cruelties, human sacrifices, which point to an early stage of civilisation, and with licentiousness scarce paralleled

in the worship of any male deity. In her it is the activities of the woman and not the man which come into prominence; the civilising work of woman in the home and on the fields; she is type of the civilisation which is peculiarly woman's work. Replace the devil at witch-meetings by such a mother-goddess as Holle or Berchta, or reduce him at least to the menial office of cook, and there is not a single feature of witchcraft which is not replete with suggestion for the civilisation of the mother-age. The broom and the pitchfork no longer seem anomalies; they are the symbols of the goddess, and as such are borne by her worshippers. As the blood of the lamb on the door-post hindered Jehovah from venting his anger upon his own worshippers, so the broom, which was actually carried by witches, if placed on the threshold, signified to the goddess that her worshippers were within. The symbol of the witch was originally the sign of the worshipper, the protection against the anger of the goddess, or of the priestess, her servant. How suggestive in this respect becomes all the folklore of brooms! The solemn night gathering and night binding of brooms on New Year's Day; the dance of men and maids round the fire at Midsummer Eve, the men carrying burning brooms; the crossed brooms before the doorways in the Obererzgebirge on *Walpurgisnacht* as a protection against the witches;[1] the besom by the cradle or at the door in Mecklenburg to protect the new-born child; the cows and the stall protected in the same district from witchcraft by an

[1] The broom was also an essential feature of a Gretna Green marriage, just as the *Feuergabel* or tongs characterise the gipsy wedding,—another link between marriage folklore and the worship of the tribal goddess at the great folk-festivals of sex.

inverted broom or the presence of a goat, the favourite animal of the witch, and therefore presumably of her mistress, the goddess of fertility; the riding of youth or maid on a broomstick to the pig-sty on New Year's Eve, when the answer of the swine determines the nature of the future bride or groom; the burning of brooms on *Walpurgisnacht* in Thüringen to frighten the witches; the procession to the well at Saulgau, which was headed by a man bearing a broom, followed by one with a fork, and between them a third clothed in a sheepskin, and carrying a tree with apples and other eatables (termed the Adam's tree); the procession of men wearing women's clothes, with brooms and fire-forks, on Fast-Nacht at Erlingen; the brooms which the witches will not step over in Nassau, or which protect the cottage doors in the Pfalz against the entrance of witches; the broom stuck in the dunghill in Schlesien to protect the homestead, or in the flax field to increase its fertility, or the brooms burnt on Midsummer Night with a wild dance, in the same district; the besom which, laid on the bed, protects men against the cobbolds in North Germany, where we find again the same broomstick ride to the pig-sty, and the same burning of brooms at dances in the woods; the old brooms which frighten away changelings; and the worn-out brooms which are burnt in the fires on Midsummer Eve in the Pfalz. All these evidences of broom-worship show how universal was the respect for the mother-goddess and her servants the witch-priestesses throughout the length and breadth of Germany.

Similar folklore as to the distaff, the cooking ladle,

FIG. 1.—PREPARATION FOR WITCHES' SABBATH. *To face p.* 30.

Young witch on goat and old witches brewing. Cat, cooking-ladle, fire-forks, and other symbols of the primitive Mother-Goddess. From a woodcut by Hans Baldung Grien.

and the pitchfork might be cited, the noteworthy point being that these symbols occur in identical ways at witch ceremonies and at peasant weddings—in fact, at the old and the new marriage rites. At the witches' feast there is a great kettle, and the devil as cook dances with the cooking ladle; boys dance with brooms and cooking ladles on *Walpurgisnacht*. On the other hand, there is a special dance of the cook with a ladle at peasant weddings in Mecklenburg and in other parts of Germany. In the confession of Geseke Hagenmeister, a sixteenth-century witch, she described the cooking at witch-meetings as being exactly like that at a wedding. Indeed, the correspondences are most striking and suggestive. It is a charge against witches that they dance back to back with the devils; this is precisely the form of peasant wedding dance illustrated by Albrecht Dürer.[1] The witches smear their feet to pass rapidly through the air. The *Hochzeitsbitter*, or person who bids to the peasant weddings in Mecklenburg, asks the guests to smear their boots and shoes that they may come the quicker. The witches dance on hilltops; in Uderstädt, in Thüringen, on the second day of the marriage feast, the whole marriage company were bound by ancient custom to dance on the top of the Tafelsberg, a neighbouring hill, whither they proceeded in procession with music. The dancing round the bride-stake and the distaff at weddings are strangely akin to the dancing round the Maypole, about the sacred tree, or with the broom on May Day, Midsummer Night, or at witch-gatherings. On *Walpurgis-*

[1] See also a 1600 Siegburger jug in the Berlin *Gewerbe Museum*.

nacht, in Westphalia, the young men go round with music and song to honour their brides and sweethearts; elsewhere they plant May-trees before their sweethearts' doors; witches and *wilde Frauen*—that is, the hags or women of the woods—come in Swabia to weddings and to births. What is this but a relic of the day when the priestess of the goddess of fertility came to marriages and births as of right? In North Germany the witch has power over the new-born and the new-bought; she comes to take the tithe for sacrifice to the goddess. In Swabia, and in the Pfalz also, the midwife, according to the legends, is often a witch who baptizes the children in the devil's name, or again she lends women the *Drutenstein* or trud's stone to protect their babes against witches; it is the hag or woman of the woods who knows and collects the herbs which relieve the labours of birth. Here we have the priestess of the old civilisation as medicine woman and midwife relieving human suffering, putting the symbol of her goddess on the cradle, but taking her tithe of human life for sacrifice to the goddess—to whom without question all children born on *Walpurgisnacht* belong (Pfalz)—and exercising strange and hostile influences over women in childbed who do not submit to the old religious rites.

The old human sacrifice is a marked feature of the religion of which witchcraft is the fossil. Witches, we are told, kill and eat children, especially the unbaptized. They boil them down, as all early sacrificial feasts and nearly all savage meals appear to be boilings and not roastings. Remarkable in this respect is the offering of wax figures of babies at shrines of the Virgin

Mary as thank-offerings for easy birth. The Virgin Mary takes the place in innumerable ways of the old mother-goddess of fertility. But the human sacrifice to the goddess was not confined to children. In Heilbronn we have the common feast, the common dance, and the burning of a scarecrow or guy as trace of sacrifice; elsewhere in Swabia a female figure in the form of a witch is burnt, and her ashes scattered over the land to increase its fertility; in Spain it is an old woman with a distaff in her hand, and it seems more than probable that the priestess herself was occasionally, perhaps as representative of the goddess, sacrificed by burning on the sacred hill or drowning in the sacred well. The goddess of fertility is killed in autumn, that she may arise rejuvenated in spring. This may possibly be the origin of Dido's self-immolation, and the popular legend of the sacrifice of the queen-priestess which is found in so many different localities. That male victims were also common is proved not only by the direct evidence of early historians but by many still extant folk-customs. These instances of witches as fossils of the priestesses of a goddess of fertility are not contradicted by the hostility which witches exhibit to marriage, or the fact that marriages on their great days, such as Twelfth Day and Walpurgis Day, are considered very unlucky. When we remember that the marriage of the civilisation, of which witches are fossils, was a group-marriage and not a monogamic marriage, we easily grasp why the old priestly caste would oppose the changes which led to the patriarchal system and the downfall of the old civilisation. Thus

it comes about that the bride must propitiate the goddess or her servant. Newly-married couples in Esthonia, one of the Russian Baltic provinces, carry an offering to the great water-mother in the shape of a goat; in Bohemia and other parts of Austria the bride sacrifices a cock; in England the bride had to anoint the threshold of the door, or smear the door-posts with swine's grease to avoid the "mischievous fascinations of witches." This must be compared with the blood of a black dog which was smeared on the door-posts to protect the house from witches, much as the blood of a lamb was smeared by the Jews at Passover. In Brandenburg the bride carries salt and dill to prevent the witches injuring her. In North Germany salt and dill are also used to protect newly-built bridges against witches. This is the more noteworthy as Tacitus tells us that the German priestesses prepared salt, and witches are famed for brewing salt and collecting herbs. There is no doubt that the salt and the dill were symbols of a goddess,—types of the discoveries due to woman's work in the old mother-age civilisation,—and as such symbols they consecrated both bridge and bride to the goddess, and saved them from the anger of her priestesses, as the blood of the sheep saved from the anger of Jehovah.

If my general theory be at all a correct one, we ought to find in witchcraft fossils of the old law of inheritance peculiar to the mother-age, and something akin to this we do find. In the Rheinthal we hear of *uralte Hexensippe*—families where from time immemorial witchcraft has been handed down from mother

to daughter. Then we have the widely-spread German proverb: *Die Mutter eine Hexe, die Tochter auch eine Hexe*, or, "The mother a witch, the daughter one too." The charms, spells, and potions seem to have been handed down from mother to daughter in long line, and were only learnt by men from women as a special favour. Many are the legends of the witch who takes her husband or the farm-servant with her to a witch-gathering; but it is always in a subordinate position, and the unfortunate man, not knowing the full ritual, produces a confusion, which ends, as a rule, disastrously for his skin. Another noteworthy fact is that in many parts of Germany any heirloom banishes witches or protects the person who carries it against them. Thus to stand within an inherited chain, or upon an inherited harrow, or with an inherited key or sieve, renders witchcraft powerless. It is difficult to look upon all these very diverse *inherited* things as symbols of the goddess which mark and protect her servants. I am inclined to think that they are really typical of the civilisation which first attained what we should term a law of inheritance, of a civilisation which was distinguished from that of the old mother-age when property belonged to the group and passed through the women, by the custom of property passing from father to son. Thus the man took as symbol of his new civilisation the heirloom, and used it as a sign to protect himself against the priestesses of the old faith.

That the goddesses served by the witches were essentially goddesses of agriculture is demonstrated by the various ceremonies with regard to plants and herbs

which take place on the great witch-nights. In Esthonia, where the Virgin Mary has taken the place of an old goddess of fertility, there is a ceremonial planting of cabbages by the women on the Feast of her Annunciation shortly before Midsummer Day. In Brandenburg there is a ceremonial gathering of herbs on May Day. Once when I was ill in the Black Forest I had herb-tea brought to me by an old peasant woman, the herbs having been gathered on St. John's night. In Mecklenburg herbs are gathered on Midsummer Night, which protect people against witches. In Thüringen caterpillars are banished from the cabbage plot by a woman running naked round the field or garden before sunrise on the eve of the annual fair. In the Pfalz, flax will not thrive unless it is sown by the women, and it has to be done with strange ceremonies, including the scattering over the field of the ashes of a fire made of wood consecrated during matins. As high as the maids jump over the fires on the hilltops on Midsummer Night, so high will the flax grow; but we find also that as high as the bride springs from the table on her marriage night, so high will the flax grow in that year. Green cabbages gathered at Yule-tide or on Twelfth Night, and eaten by man and beast, protect them against witches; in other words, those who eat it, like those who eat the paschal lamb, are performing a rite which protects them from the anger of the deity.

Besides this relation to herbs and plants, the goddess shows her relation to fruitfulness in the matter of wells, springs, and ponds. At the Siveringer spring, near Vienna, crowds of people come on

feast-days, especially on Midsummer Night; many spend the night in the woods, and if a stone taken from the *Agneswiese* be laid in the water of the spring, and then under the pillow, prophetic dreams follow. The spring is supposed to be sacred to a fay, Agnes, who is friendly to mortals. Margretha Beutzins, tried for witchcraft in the sixteenth century, confessed that she and other witches fetched water out of a stream, boiled it with herbs in a large caldron over a fire, and bathed the devil therein. This bathing ceremony in a sacred stream at witch-gatherings or on Midsummer Night appears to be very general. In Thüringen, near Tieffurt, is a sacred spring still called *Weihbrunnen;* this well is one of the wells from which children are brought,—that is, the well of a goddess of fertility—and there are legends about children being found there, who afterwards return to dance round the well. On the Virgin Mary's birthday—the festival of maids, as it was still called at the beginning of our century—the maidens in Thüringen used to rise before daybreak and bathe with the water of a sacred spring, which made them beautiful. In Hesse bathing in Frau Holle's pond, or in various sacred wells, makes barren women fruitful. Here we have the same notion of fertility due to the sacred water of the goddess; but in later days she has been replaced by the Virgin Mary. In Halle is a well termed the *Freucklerin* well; it is said to be so called from an old woman, who had a great knowledge of how to cure diseases, and we evidently have a trace of an old healing goddess. In Steisslingen, in Swabia, the wells are decorated on May Day; there is dancing and a

feast at night. May-Day baths are frequently mentioned in the old chronicles, as well as special Midsummer-Day baths. They seem to have frequently preceded the dancing round the sacred well. Near Burgeis is the *Zerzerbrunnen*, a well of three wild maidens. Alongside it there used to be an altar to which shepherds and huntsmen brought their firstlings. The altar is now replaced by a chapel. Such wells which legend attributes to a well-maiden, or three sisters, or wild maidens, are very frequent. Often the maidens come out from the well, and join in the peasant dances of the neighbourhood; this occurs especially on St. John's night.

The *wilde Frauen* thus associated with wells are not exactly witches, but, like witches, they come to weddings and births, and are accompanied by dogs. They are the three sisters to whom so many mediæval charms and incantations are addressed, and to whom men go for counsel and aid. They are rather the legendary form of an old triune goddess of fertility than the degenerate form which her priestess has taken as a witch. They are goddesses of fertility, but also of disease and death, as well as of medicine and life. For pest and death are in early times represented as women, not as men. The healing goddess is related to the "great virgin" of Esslingen, who, we are told, outwitted all men, priests and laymen, even the most famous physicians, with her magic. That these spring or well goddesses had a side in dark contrast to their dancing, singing, and healing characteristics is clearly enough evidenced by the traces we have of human sacrifices to wells and springs, and of licentious gatherings in their neighbourhood. As goddesses they are

frequently represented in the legends as *spinning;* they come to weddings and spin; they punish idle spinsters, and their worship is closely connected with the distaff as symbol. Another phase of their worship is connected with the village spinning-room and the licentiousness which then and now surrounds that institution. But to enter into the folklore and practice of the spinning-room and its fossils in still more ill-famed resorts might indeed throw much light on the mother-age, but it would lead us too far from our present subject of witchcraft.

I have endeavoured to interpret various obscure witch-customs as fossils of an ancient woman civilisation, especially as fossils of its religious worship, reflecting as all religion the social habits and modes of thought of the society in which it originated. We shall see these phases of the old life still further emphasised if we note a few—a very few—of the ceremonies which occur in Germany on *Walpurgisnacht*, May Day or Midsummer Day—times especially associated with witches and the old feminine deities. In the Russian Baltic provinces we find that there are festivals on the first of May with torch or candle processions comparable with the witch gatherings and the Friesian marriage; that a May king is chosen, who does reverence to the May queen,[1] and that a free feast is given to the women and maidens. As usual, there is music and dancing in the evening exactly as at witch-dances. In Dantzig there is dancing on the *Fayusberg*, possibly the fairy's hill. In Denmark we find processions with choral

[1] The May-Day ceremonies here closely approach the Mylitta feast at Babylon; see Essay XI.

dances of maidens, communal feasting and drinking, while we have still extant songs made by pious folk to replace the old ribald May-Day songs.[1] In Esthonia, at midsummer, the maidens go to certain hilltops, and there, bedecked with flowers, dance and sing round fires. On Midsummer Night this often degenerated into a veritable bacchanal; there were dances of nude women and a licentiousness such as we hear of at the witch-gatherings. The privilege of a similar license was claimed by women also at the great festival of spring, in which respect it may be noted that February in Mecklenburg is said to be the *woman's month, i.e.* the month in which women rule.

On the Königstuhl, near Heidelberg, when I was a student there, the whole town was to be found on *Walpurgisnacht.* Groups of maidens and students went up singing through the woods, there was dancing at the top, and waiting to see the sun rise. At Whitsuntide, in the Obererzgebirge, there used to be dancing outdoors all night. In Mecklenburg, on Midsummer Night, a great caldron is carried round, in which eggs, butter, milk, are collected; there are choral dances, especial antique dances, and a common meal lasting till late into the night. The special lighting of the Midsummer fires and the driving the herds through them to protect them from witch-craft, the *Hahnenschlag,*—trace of an old cock-sacrifice, —all which occur in the same district, are fossils of old religious rites. Noteworthy and suggestive is the appearance of the caldron — the witches' caldron —

[1] Even as the same folk have recently replaced the old bridal songs in Iceland!

at many folk-festivals. It is closely connected with the common and free meal of the ancient group. This common meal occurs in the marriage rites of a later age; thus in Altenburg, at the time of a wedding, a waggon is sent round to collect provisions; there is music, and often dancing, even to the church; and on the evening of the wedding there is a feast free to all upon the food collected, a general dancing, and in the old times there was great licentiousness. In the early days the food seems to have gone even into the church; a fossil of this old custom is still preserved in the wine and cake handed round in some places at weddings inside the church. In Mecklenburg at weddings we have dancing out of the bridal house and down the village, also a procession of maidens with candles exactly as in the Friesian wedding. This dancing down the public streets recurs in many places; for example, in old days the *Faddy* dance on May Day in Cornwall in and out of the houses and down the village. In Rottweil we find dancing in the public streets and feasting on high festivals, and even at weddings, accompanied, as usual, by great license. In Thüringen on *Walpurgisnacht* we have dancing round the linden tree, and on Midsummer Night a fire festival for maids and men. At Whitsuntide the men collect food for a common meal, and it is followed by a dance; in return the maidens fetch the youths to a dance and give them a meal, paying for the music. This is termed the feast of the *Brunnenfege*, and seems to be a relic of an old well-worship. In Hesse we have a decoration of the wells on May Day, and choral dances of the maids on Midsummer Night; in the very same

district the witches meet on the former night for dancing, and there is a common meal under the *Hexenlinde*, or witches' linden tree.

In Heilbronn, on *Walpurgisnacht*, there is a common meal and the burning of a scarecrow—relic of an old human sacrifice. This is said to be done to *hinder* the witches, but yet this very night, according to the folk-lore of the country round, they are most active and have most power. In North Germany the witches are said to dance away the snow from the Blocksberg on *Walpurgisnacht;* in other words, they are friendly servants of a goddess of fruitfulness, whose influence over women agriculturists is well marked in the custom in Uker- and Mittel-mark of putting a scarecrow called Walpurg on the land of those maidens who have not completed their digging of the soil by May Day. Traces of the sacrifice of cats or horses on *Walpurgisnacht* are very frequent, and a cat or dog is the usual companion of the primitive goddess or her priestess, the witch. The Scandinavian goddess Freya is drawn by cats, the *alte Fricke* goes with dogs, so does Frû Gode. The dog, the cat, and the three ears of corn are symbols of the Virgin Mary, but also of Walpurg, and the devil's grandmother as well, clearly indicating how many of the characteristics, and even the symbols of the old mother-goddesses, were passed on to the Virgin in early Christian times.[1] Nay, like Holle and Gode and Berchta, she became a goddess of spinning, which

[1] Folk-gatherings remained for many ages linked to the old heathen goddess festivals and their sacred spots. It is interesting from this standpoint to notice that the place of gathering for the commons of Norwich was at the chapel of "the blessed Virgin in the Fields."

was not allowed on her holy days. The picture of primitive woman taming the cat and the dog, domesticating the smaller animals, including the pig, the goat, and the goose, is brought clearly out in their becoming the companions and symbols of the primitive goddess; just as the broom, the distaff, and the pitchfork, the ears of corn, and the apple, show her activity in the direction of domestic economy and in the earliest forms of agriculture.

I cannot do better than conclude the witchcraft evidence of woman's primitive ascendency by referring to one out of the *many* local mother-goddesses who were converted into local saints by early Christianity. The one which I will consider is *Walpurg*, from whom the name of the great witch-gathering *Walpurgisnacht* takes its origin. According to the legend, Walpurg was a female missionary who accompanied St. Boniface and was canonised as a virgin saint of the Catholic Church. But let us see the real nature of Walpurg in folklore and local usage. Many wells or springs are associated with her name; the waters of these wells heal diseases. Her bones, or the stone on which they were formerly exhibited, exuded oil, and this oil was sold or carried off by pilgrims in little bottles to cure toothache and relieve the pangs of childbirth. The exuding began on *Walpurgisnacht*, on which occasion her oil was also drunk as old ale. On May Day in 1720 the priests from no less than forty parishes came to Attigny, one of the shrines of Walpurg, to share in the distribution of oil. Lutheran women who had been assisted in childbirth by the oil entered the

Catholic Church. Walpurg is represented with an oil flask in her hand. In Bavaria there is an old chapel at Kaufering to Walpurg. At this chapel the folk say health offerings used to be made to idols in the old days, and in a neighbouring building the old plague cars were preserved. Walpurg is thus associated with a being who once protected the people from disease. The dog is peculiarly sacred to Walpurg, and she cures the bite of mad dogs. Thus the dog, the token of fertility, is sacred to her as to Holle and Frick. She carries three ears of corn in her hand—the symbol of the goddess of agricultural fertility. On *Walpurgistag* there is a procession in the Frankenwald which opens with the *Walber*, a man clothed with straw; there is a dance round the *Walber* tree—a symbolic driving out of winter and a heralding of spring. In Lower Austria the harvest days are especially consecrated to Walpurg. She then goes through all the fields and gardens with a spindle blessing them. Like the witches, she brings in spring, and by dancing makes the fields fertile.

We have already noted that the great common meals of the Germans, with their accompanying worship of some goddess of fertility, were not abolished by the introduction of Christianity. In many places they were converted into a *Kirmes* or ecclesiastical feast. Such a common meal used to be held at Monheim in a church dedicated to Walpurg. Oxen and swine were carried for this purpose into the church itself. It will be obvious from the above and from the general character of the feastings and dancings on *Walpurgisnacht* that Walpurg could not have originally represented an

FIG. 2.—WITCH WITH SPINDLE, DISTAFF, AND GOAT, SYMBOLS OF THE PRIMITIVE MOTHER-GODDESS.
After a copper engraving by Albrecht Dürer.

ascetic virgin saint. She is the typical goddess of fruitfulness with a by no means ascetic cult. She is the presiding spirit of the old group-gatherings with their common meal, their clan discussions and elements of law-making, their agricultural ritual, their general worship of fruitfulness and fertility, and their blessing of animals, of corn, and of the hearth and its industries. But the fruitfulness of animals and land is associated with the like in mankind, and the bathing in the sacred spring or the dew are only another side of the worship which culminated in the license of *Walpurgisnacht.* It is in this aspect that the Westphalian Walpurg at Antwerp appears as a Venus, a goddess of fertility to whom barren women offer wreaths of flowers. In this aspect of goddess of love and fertility she reappears near Eichstadt, while even in the Catholic calendar she has the patronate of the fruitfulness of the soil.

It will be seen from the above brief account of Walpurg that she corresponds exactly to the type of goddess we should expect to meet with in the ceremonials of witchcraft and in the revels of *Walpurgisnacht.* She is the old type of mother-goddess who, like a good many of her sisters, has received a slight coat of whitewash from the early Christians and reappeared as a Catholic virgin and saint.

Walpurg brings before us clearly all the strong and weak points of that old-woman civilisation, fossils of which I have suggested are lurking half hidden in the folklore of witchcraft. It is a civilisation based rather on the useful arts of agriculture and domestic economy than of war and the chase. It is one in which the earliest rudi-

ments of medicine, the domestication of the smaller animals, the cultivation of vegetables, and flax and corn, the use of the distaff, the spindle, the broom, the fire-rake, and the pitchfork are in no hesitating language—if we but know how to read it—claimed as the inventions and discoveries of woman. Those discoveries are the real basis of our civilisation to-day, and not only the basis but a good part of the superstructure. Some may be inclined to smile at the broom, the distaff, and the pitchfork, and compare them with the printing-press and the steam-engine, but the smile is the smile of the ignorant, and the comparison itself idle. For the one set could never have been without the other. Let us be quite sure that these origins of civilisation were *not* the discoveries of the man, who in his superior might made the women use them. The primitive savage knows nothing of agriculture, of spinning, of herbs, and of springs, but *his wife* does. It is not he but she who could have made them symbols of a female deity, and in the power of a superior knowledge have forced the worship of that deity upon the whole group or clan. If my audience ask me why and how it came about, I can only indicate now my belief that the fertility, resource, and inventive power of early woman arose from the harder struggle she had to make for the preservation of her child and herself in the battle of life. It was the struggle of tribe against tribe in actual warfare which quickened the intellect of the man. But that I hold to be a later struggle ; the *first* struggle was for food and for shelter against natural forces, and that was the contest from which the civilisation of woman arose. It carried

mankind a long way—a way the length of which we are only just beginning to realise. But it could not carry mankind to that family organisation from which so much was afterwards to develop. It was based upon the mother as head of the group, and upon a form of group-marriage of which it is hard now to judge impartially. If one of the worst abuses of the father-age be really only a degenerate form of the older group-marriage, and is not the pure outcome of male domination—if there be a direct line of descent from the old licentious worship of the mother-goddess to the extravagances of witchcraft, to the spinning-room, and to the legalised vice of to-day—we have still to remember that the perpetuation by one civilisation of the weak points of an earlier one, and this possibly in an exaggerated form, is no reason for the condemnation of the earlier stage. The civilisation of woman handed down a mass of useful custom and knowledge; it was for after generations to accept that, and eradicate the rest. When I watch to-day the peasant woman of Southern Germany or of Norway toiling in the house or field, while the male looks on, then I do not think the one a down-trodden slave of the other. She appears to me the bearer of a civilisation to which he has not yet attained. She may be a fossil of the mother-age, but he is a fossil of a still lower stratum—barbarism pure and simple. When we have once fully recognised the real magnitude of what women achieved in the difficult task of civilisation in these olden times, then we shall be the less apt to think her status unchangeable, to assume that she is hopelessly handicapped by her function of child-bearing,

and that the hard work of the world must be left to men. If I wished to give a full picture of what woman accomplished for the first time in the world, and what she is in many parts still undertaking, it would be hard to do so better than by quoting the following words from the recent report of an American Consul in Germany :—

American readers will hardly understand how it can be that the severest part of existence in this whole region falls to the lot of woman. But such is the fact. She is the servant and the burden-bearer. . . . The chief pursuits of women in this district (Sonneberg) are not of a gentle or refining character. They perform by far the greater part of all the outdoor manual service. The planting and the sowing, including the preparation of the soil, therefore, is done by them. I have seen many a woman in the last few weeks holding the plough, drawn by a pair of cows, and still more of them carrying manure into the fields in baskets strapped to their backs. They also do much of the haying, including the mowing and the pitching; likewise the harvesting; after which they thrash much of the grain with the old-fashioned hand flail. They accompany the coal carts through the city, and put the coal into the cellars while the male driver sits upon his seat. They carry on nearly all the dairy business, and draw the milk into town in a hand-cart, a woman and a dog usually constituting the team.

Here we have a wonderfully suggestive fossil of woman in the mother-age—primitive woman, the first agriculturist, shouldering the pitchfork, the symbol of her deity, and accompanied by the creature of her goddess—her friend and helper, the dog.

X

ASHIEPATTLE: OR HANS SEEKS HIS LUCK

Nû bin ich erwachet und ist mir unbekant,
Daz mir hie vor was kündic als mîn ander hant,
Liut unde lant, dâ ich von kinde bin erzogen,
Die sint mir fremde worden, reht' als ez sî gelogen;
Die mine gespilen wâren, die sint trâge und alt:
. . . . .
Mich grüezet maneger trâge, der mich bekande ê wol.

Walther v. d. Vogelweide.

ASHIEPATTLE, the dirty ash-lad, Hans 'der Dummling,' a 'Schneiderlein,' or the miller's boy,[1] sets out into the world to seek his luck. He is courteous and friendly to an old woman whom he meets in the forest, and who possesses magical powers. He travels through many kingdoms, and at last he comes to one where the king is in difficulties from dragons or giants, or in domestic trouble owing to his daughter declining matrimony until a wooer is found who can perform certain notable feats. Hans, with the aid of the aforesaid old woman, either achieves prodigious victories, or accomplishes all the tasks proposed to him. He then demands his bride, and becomes 'der junge König,' or as the tale often winds up:

[1] The ugly idler Pervonto of *Il Pentamerone* is the Italian, *Askclad* the Norwegian equivalent of the German *Dummling* and the English *Ashiepattle*.

Da ward die Hochzeit gefeiert, und der Dummling erbte das Reich, und lebte lange Zeit vergnügt mit seiner Gemahlin.

Now in the days of our childhood we read this theme varied in a hundred different ways, but always felt it quite natural and fitting that Hans should find his luck, marry his princess, and become heir to the kingdom. It did not strike us as peculiar that kings were as plentiful as blackberries; we should have considered it quite immoral for the kingdom to have gone to anybody but the king's daughter, and, being democrats as all children must be, we thought it most proper that the princess should only act as a conduit pipe to convey the kingdom to Hans—the brave, stout, kindly Hans, the son of the people. The land of *Märchen* had its own customs, its own laws of descent, its own profusion of kings; it was quite reasonable that it should be largely at the mercy of mysterious old women, or subject to the whims of princesses. It was all intense reality to us, and such historic facts as the law of primogeniture, descent in the male line, the court ruled by soldier and priest, and not by princess and old woman, had never entered our field of view. *Märchenland* was the real land of our childhood, and its customs and characters—the witch, the king's daughter, Hans, and the giant—became impressed upon us as the actualities—well, if not of life immediately around us, still of another world only slightly removed in either space or time.

And what became of *Märchenland?* It faded away before a world of grammar, history, and geography, a hundred times more idle and unreal than

itself. How feeble, how futile it all seemed, when the needs of another generation brought us back to what had once been familiar as the other hand; land wherein and folk amid whom we had been reared in childhood had become strange, "reht' als ez sî gelogen," and our old comrades greeted us but coldly. Yet, as one read on to little nestling forms keenly intent on their land of reality, a new sense and a new life came into *Märchenland*. It became a reality for the elder, too; its customs and characters, if distorted and obscured, were again actualities; they described, with perhaps tedious reiteration, great features of an early stage of our race's civilisation. *Märchenland* told the same tale as word-lore and folklore; there had been an age when civilisation was much more the work of women than of men, and when the social customs as to marriage and property were very different from those of to-day. It is to this aspect of *Märchenland* that I wish to turn in this essay. I shall be satisfied if it leads any of my readers to take up their Grimm again with an interest and delight akin to what I myself feel, and to what we all felt in those days of long ago, when the ideal was the real for us, and the real was a trivial and stupid world with which we had small occasion to fash ourselves.

Is *Märchenland* after all a place in which everything is turned topsy-turvy to the delight of children, or may not much of children's pleasure in it arise from an unconscious sympathy between the child and the thought and custom of the childhood of civilisation? In the life and feeling of the child the mother and the

woman play the largest part; and so it is in the religious and social institutions of primitive man. To the child, singing and dancing are the natural expressions of the emotions; in him mother-worship, animism, and food-cult are strongly developed. The animals, again, are to the child at once beings full of mysterious power, and yet equals and intimates in a degree never again approached during life. In all these respects the true parallels to the child are the men and women of early civilisation. I have never yet found a healthy normal child who felt difficulty about the talking of cats, the provision of hearty meals daintily laid by goats, or the advice and warning given by birds to friendly mortals. It takes all these things as seriously and as unhesitatingly as the Roman took the cackling of his sacred geese, or primitive man takes the animal lore and totemism of his tribe. The psychologist, who will watch the reception of *Märchen* by children, will learn much of the manner in which *Märchen* have been developed among primitive men; but he will learn something more: he will grasp how much of the customs and feelings of *Märchenland* are merely reflexes of a long past stage of social development—of the childhood of human culture. Let us try and interpret some of the fundamental features of *Märchenland*, so real to the child, so unreal to his elder.

In the first place, the great bulk of the population we have to deal with leads a country life. We may be taken into a village, but rarely, if ever, into a town. We have to deal with peasants and with hunters, with men and women of the fields and of the forests. We

are introduced to goose-girls, to swineherds, to women who spend their time amid cows and goats, and men who chop wood and hunt. If the craftsman comes in, it is the craftsman of the village community, the blacksmith, the tailor, or the miller. If we go into towns and palaces, it is the simpleton and country lad who takes us there; we do not deal with ships and merchandise, but with agricultural produce and the trophies of the chase. Cathedrals and knights and men in armour are not of our company. If we want advice or sympathy we seek it not of priests or lawyers, of bailies or *Amtmänner;* we go to the animals, to a *weise Frau* or a *Hexe.* With the exception of kings, to be referred to later, the *Schultheiss,* or elected head of a peasant community, is almost the chief authority we come across. In short, the people who developed the Teutonic *Märchen,* as we know it in our Grimm, were not a town population, but one living by agriculture and hunting; not a people of the mountains, the snows, and the lakes, but a people living rather in the clearings of the forest; a people with a primitive agriculture, chiefly conducted by women; a people to whom the witch and wise woman, rather than the priest and knight, were the guides and instructors in life. The *Märchen* have been added to, developed, modified; all sorts of later elements and personages have been grafted on to them, but, taken in the bulk, we see quite clearly that they are not the production of an age which knew Christianity and chivalry. They might have been evolved among the Germans whom Tacitus describes for us, but they could not be the product of

mediæval society with its knight, its monk, and its burgher. Here were people whose wells and streams, forests and hilltops, were sacred, not to Christian, but to very heathen beings, to spinning ladies, to little men, and magic-working old women. The people, in fact, who created the *Märchen* are the people who created the *Weisthümer*, the folk of the *Hag* and the *Mahal*.

Bearing in mind what other essays have to show us of the nature of the primitive kin-communities, we can with a considerable degree of certainty date the period from which many individual *Märchen* have sprung. In broad outline there are three chief periods to be considered :—

(*a*) An endogamous period, in which relationship of the womb is the bond between the group, social and sexual. The continuity of the group is maintained by the women, and its property may in this sense be said to pass through them. The kin-group worship a goddess of fertility, who is served by her priestesses, the matrons, seeresses, and wise women of the group. A kin-alderman is selected in case of need.

(*b*) A transition period, in which the kin-alderman, *župan* or *Kuning*, has usurped chief power in the group. The property still passes through the women, but the king has taken possession of the women. The sex-custom of the group has become exogamous, but property does not descend from father to son. The man marries into the wife's group, and the way to obtain a 'kingdom' is to kill the king and marry his queen, or more peacefully to marry his daughter. 'Kings' are as plentiful as blackberries, because

every kin-alderman or clan-father has developed into one. *Smaakonge* are to be found in every valley, and to cross the belt of forest which separates one *Genossenschaft* from a second is to enter a new kingdom.[1]

The mother-goddess is still of great influence, but her cult is being undermined; and her priestess, the *Hexe* or witch, is coming to possess an ill more frequently than a good name. The power to dispose of the women, and of the inheritance which goes with them, is used by the king as a means of obtaining outside assistance in times of danger. Such internal troubles are almost invariably used by the *Hexen* to further their own ends, or to assist their own favourites.

(*c*) A purely patriarchal period, in which descent through the male line has been finally established. The mother-goddess has become a mere legendary being who haunts wells or woods; the *Hexen* and the old sex-festivals have obtained a very evil repute. We have reached a time in which sagas and hero-stories replace *Märchen*, and women are of small import in the management of the commune.

If we wish to ascertain in which of these periods a *Märchen* has arisen, we can apply three tests, one or other of which will usually suffice:—

(i.) What is the general weight given to the opinion and advice of women?

(ii.) Is the *Hexe* friendly or hostile to men?

[1] A king will often possess several kingdoms. Thus in *Die vier kunstreichen Brüder* a king gives away four half-kingdoms, and presumably still retains some for himself and for his daughter.

(iii.) Does the kingdom pass to the king's daughter or to a son?

The last test is practically identical with the following: Does the hero take his bride home with him, or go and live in her country or among her kin?

Many *Märchen* judged by these tests will be found to be compound, a later addition or expansion overlaying a more primitive story; but generally the great bulk of *Märchen* will be found to belong to a matriarchal and not a patriarchal people, to a people rather in the transition stage (*b*), than in the stage (*c*) as described above.

A few statistics may be of interest. Out of 200 *Märchen* examined by these tests, 74 could be distinguished by the third criterion. Of these 6 had a mixed law of descent. In no less than 48 the kingdom passed through the daughter, or the husband went to live with his bride. In 20 only did the kingdom descend to a prince, or a hero take his bride to his own home. In one case out of these twenty, the kingdom went to the *youngest* son; in four cases the witch was purely malevolent; in seven cases references occurred to church or priest; and in eight cases there were no further data to guide one as to the period of origin. We may therefore, I think, conclude that the great bulk of *Märchen* date from an age in which property descended only to relations by the womb. Plenitude of kings and inheritance by daughters are not signs of the topsy-turvydom of *Märchenland*, but characteristics of the age from which it dates. Read between the lines, the stories of Agamemnon and

Odysseus, Grecian *Smaakonge*, point markedly to the end of such an age in another Aryan stock. The wooers of Clytemnestra or Penelope, if successful, will become lords and kings in the land; the husband or son has to maintain his 'right' by the sword. The tragedy springs from the replacement of the old right of the mother-age by a new right, in which the son shall claim through his father. The moral of one civilisation, nay, almost of one generation, is to became the immoral of the next, and the old immorality the new morality; therein lies the most fruitful source of human tragedies on both small and large scale. Hamlet and Orestes arose in a transition age, when the custom of inheritance was changing; in an age when mother-right was becoming father-wrong, and a conflict of duties bred problems for which no established standard provided a moral solution. In a much less impressive, if not less suggestive form, the *Märchen* raise the same problems; and the *Hexen*, like the Furies, will be nearly always found fighting the battle of the old civilisation, acting as champions of mother-right.

In order to illustrate this point, it will not be without service to briefly analyse the series of witches to be found in one collection of *Märchen*, Grimm's tales.

If the view I have suggested be correct, we should expect to find the witch living the life of the old civilisation, that is, dwelling in some hut in a clearing in the forest, depending upon her own growth of vegetables or collection of fruit, surrounded by the smaller domesticated animals, the goat and the goose; meanwhile she will watch the weather, give advice,

brew poison, befriend and enchant,[1] as the case may be, or as she wishes to favour the old or oppose the new civilisation. Occasionally, instead of a hut in the forest, the witch has a well or spring. At first sight, it might appear as if the witch were thus confused with the spring goddess herself, but the discovery of more than one cave-dwelling or habitation down a well in Bavaria[2] is not without its weight in reckoning the probability of actual well-dwelling witches. We may note also *Das blaue Licht*, where the witch hides her treasures in a subterranean chamber leading off a well. In the very first tale of our Grimm, the German *Froschkönig*, the Scottish Frog-Lover, we find that near the king's house is a vast, dense wood, and in the wood an old lime tree, at the foot of which is a spring or well. The witch associated with this spot is spoken of as *evil*, for she has enchanted a prince or king's son. Her hostility, however, to this particular king's son may possibly be accounted for by the fact that when he is disenchanted he carries his bride off to his own kingdom. He is one of the "modern" young men, with a patriarchal view of life, removed far indeed from that of the witch-priestess. Quite in keeping with this witch is the witch in *Rapunzel*. Frau Gothel is a great hand at the cultivation of vegetables, and her neighbour steals, as folk-custom justified him in doing, corn-salad for his

[1] It is conceivable, although of course it cannot be proven, that the primitive witch-priestesses had learnt the secret of hypnotising those who could be useful or were hostile to them. Many of the features of enchantment would thus become intelligible. For example, the evil eye of the witch, or a common method of overcoming her, namely, to go and do precisely what you need in her presence but without paying the least regard to her.

[2] See Panzer, *Bayerische Gebräuche*, Bd. ii. pp. 277, 302.

pregnant wife. The enraged witch, who has found him in the act of stealing, is pacified when she hears the cause of his theft, but demands the child about to be born. "All shall be well with it, and I will tend it as a mother." Frau Gothel is not unkind to the child, until a king's son with patriarchal principles comes to steal her. "He took her to his kingdom, and they lived for long in happiness and contentment." Again we see the hostility of the witch associated with the new form of marriage—the *Raubehe*. As a contrast to these two hostile witches, we may note the witch in *Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen*. Here we are certainly in a matriarchal community, for the kingdom goes to the king's daughters; at least to the elder daughters, for the younger is driven out into the forest for a presumed want of affection for her father. Here she becomes goose-girl to a 'steinaltes Mütterchen,' who lives with her herd of geese in a small hut on a forest-clearing. This old woman spends her time in collecting grass and wild fruit, and, like the modern Tyrolese peasant woman, is able to carry a greater burden than the passing stranger who offers his services. To such a stranger she may sternly teach a lesson, but she is at heart friendly to him as well as to the maiden. She is a typical representative of primitive womanhood, busy with the spinning-wheel and the besom, and knowing in forest-lore, and, when occasion requires, enchantment. She makes her hut into a palace for the princess, and to that, not to his own home, the hero takes his bride. Then the tale concludes with the suggestive words:—

So viel ist gewiss, dass die Alte keine Hexe war, wie die Leute glaubten, sondern eine weise Frau, die es gut meinte. Wahrscheinlich ist sie es auch gewesen, die der Königstochter schon bei der Geburt die Gabe verliehen hat Perlen zu weinen statt der Thränen.

To a later age the notion of the witch as, at bottom, friendly and wise had become inconceivable.

Other *Märchen* illustrating similar points may be noticed more briefly. In *Die zwölf Brüder* the kingdom is to go, not to them, but to the thirteenth child, a daughter;[1] and we may probably take as evidence of the declining strength of the old custom, the desire that these sons should be killed in order that they may not seize or share the inheritance. Here it is a friendly old woman who instructs the girl how to save her brothers from enchantment. The reference to the biblical Benjamin and the tag in which the girl goes away to the husband's house, appear to be later additions; the latter being quite out of keeping with the commencement of the story in which the girl is to inherit the kingdom in preference to her brothers. In *Hänsel und Grethel* the witch is evil, and has the cannibal instincts,[2] which are not so much a sign of her wickedness as of the human sacrifices which were certainly associated with primitive matriarchal societies. In *Das Räthsel* the witch is a poison-brewing hag, hostile to wandering kings' sons; but yet a king's daughter, and presumably

[1] Cf. the Norse *De tolv Vildænder*.

[2] The age of human sacrifice will never be found very far removed from the age of cannibalism, for the primitive sacrifice was essentially a feast. There are traces of cannibalistic tendencies in such tales as *Von dem Machandelboom*, *Fundevogel*, *Sneewittchen*, etc., besides the usual man-eating propensities of the giants. Traces of this primitive cannibalistic sacrifice have even remained in the ceremonial of the most developed religions of highly civilised peoples.

her kingdom is to be won in good matriarchal style by a riddle-contest. In all these cases we have the little forest-clearing and the hut, which is the characteristic dwelling-place of the witch. In *Frau Holle* we meet a well-dwelling old woman, who controls the weather and represents rather the goddess herself than her servant. She is associated with loaves and apples, and is friendly to the good and kindly maiden. She punishes the rude and unkindly, just as the goddess-witch *Frau Trude* punishes disobedient children.

In *Die sechs Schwäne*[1] we have the usual type of witch living in a hut in the forest-clearing. She is not exactly hostile to the king's son, but marries her daughter to him. This daughter, as we are so often told, had learnt from her mother the *Hexenkünste*. She is opposed by the 'wise woman,' who assists the step-children. The story is really from the transition period, for while the king takes his bride home, we find his mother (as in many other tales) the real person in authority there. In *Sneewittchen*, *Der liebste Roland*, and *Die zwei Brüder* the witches are all workers of ill; but in the first the bridegroom says to the bride, "Komm mit mir in meines Vaters Schloss"; in the second Roland cries, "Nun will ich zu meinem Vater gehen, und die Hochzeit bestellen"; and in the third the hostility of the witch appears to be especially directed against the *hunter*. In

[1] *Die sechs Schwäne* is one of a series of *Märchen*, like *Die zwölf Brüder*, *Brüderchen und Schwesterchen*, *Jorinde und Joringel*, etc., which points to the closeness of the feeling between brothers and sisters at the time when these *Märchen* originated. There was a strong kinship spirit, which, like that of the Norse Gudrun, often obscured the relation of man and wife. Indeed, we occasionally find what are apparently fossils of a kindred group-marriage in the sister tending the hut of a group of brothers.

the first two the descent is through the male; in the third the lucky hunter kills the dragon, marries the king's daughter, and becomes *ipso facto* 'der junge König.' The opposition of the primitive matriarchal civilisation (with its elementary agriculture and domestication of the smaller animals) to a hunting population, generally with different marriage customs, should be borne in mind, if the attitude of the witch is to be at all understood. The hunter pursues Reh, Hirsch or Hirschkuh, probably animals sacred to some goddess,[1] and, failing to overtake them, finds himself landed at some witch's hut in a forest-clearing. Here the proprietress receives him, as may be expected, with anything but a friendly greeting. (Cf. *Die Goldkinder* and *Die zwei Brüder.*) Of the witch in *Die Rabe*, who lives in the orthodox manner, in a hut in a forest-clearing, it is not easy to determine the character. She serves at first to test the strength of the man's will, but when he at last surmounts all the difficulties and wins the king's daughter, it is to her castle that he comes, and there that the *Hochzeit* is held. We have thus the matriarchal law of descent.

In *De drei Vügelkens*, the old magic-working fisher-woman; in *Dersüsse Brei*, the magic-working 'alte Frau'; in *Der Krautesel*, the 'altes hässliches Mütterchen'; in *Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein*, the 'weise Frau,' who aids Zweiäuglein; in *Die Nixe im Teich*, the 'Alte mit weissen Haaren,' who overcomes the Nixe; in *Die wahre Braut*, the 'alte Frau,' who performs miracles for the little maid; in *Spindel, Weberschiffchen*

[1] There are a considerable number of local saints—fossils of district-goddesses—who have the roe or stag as their attribute.

und Nadel, the 'Pathe,' who provides so handsomely for her godchild,—are all 'white' witches, magic-working old women, friendly to those who are respectful or kindly towards them. It will be seen at once from the cases cited that the ugly, mysterious old woman with magical powers is not necessarily hostile to mankind. Much that appears hostile is due either to our not appreciating the struggle between two civilisations, or to the real motive, sacrificial or social, of the witch's conduct having become obscured in the long course of tradition through minds charged with alien ideas.

While the witch or priestess of the old civilisation is generally pictured for us as living alone in a hut within a forest-clearing,[1] we not infrequently find the priestly united with the queenly office. The queen is a witch[2] for example in *Sneewittchen* and *Die sechs Diener;* in many cases the queen's daughter inherits her mother's powers,[3] and a struggle ensues in magic between the two (e.g. *De beiden Künigeskinner*, and practically in the *Krautesel*). Yet in others it is a king's daughter who, by aid of her knowledge of magic, defeats the witch who would prevent Hans from winning her and her kingdom (*e.g.* in *Der Trommler*),[4] or uses magic for her own ends, as in *Die Gänsemagd*. We may, I think, conclude that the primitive notion of witch was not that of an ugly

[1] In much the same solitary manner as the medicine-men of the Indians in Sierra Madre.

[2] The Fuegians have a legend that their men once revolted against the women, because the latter had monopolised tribal authority and the secrets of witchcraft (Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kumai*, p. 105).

[3] The inheritance of witchcraft by daughter from mother has been referred to in Essay IX. p. 8. As among the Germans, so among the Celts, magic power ran in the women of families (see Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 199).

[4] Sometimes merely between one woman and another, as in *Fundevogel*.

old woman, a social outcast, who wrought only ill. But rather the idea was that of a wise woman,—a woman in not only spiritual but also temporal authority,—hostile indeed to a civilisation which brought customs of marriage and descent other than those upon which her influence and power were based.

After, but only after, the sacerdotal comes the kingly element in the *Märchen*, presenting us with another side of the same old primitive civilisation, with its mother-right customs. In trying to appreciate the king of the *Märchen*, the reader must put on one side all modern impressions as to royalty, and return to the early Teutonic significance of the term. In the side valleys of Norway the wanderer may yet come across *Gaards-mænd*, who hold themselves somewhat aloof from their fellow-peasants, although to the eye of the observer their house and barns, their stock of cattle, and cluster of dependants are not more extensive than those of their neighbours. Questioned as to the cause of the indifferent, or even slightly contemptuous reception the stranger has met with, the neighbours will tell him with a smile that his hosts were *Smaakonge*, or descendants of the old petty kings of the valley. During a day's march, within even the same valley, merely by crossing an arm or two of the forest, several such *Smaakonge* might in olden time have been found, and they approached very closely to the *Märchen* conception of a king. Not a man set in royal dignity far above swineherds and goose-girls, but one who could associate with them, nay, who might have risen from their ranks by some valiant act, which won him a bride and the kingdom. Indeed

the bride herself will not be above washing clothes or tending cattle, even if later ages, with other ideas of royal dignity, have added kingly robes and state chariots. What Homer has done for the petty kings of Greece, who in truth had neatherds for friends and the pig-sties against their front doors, that mediæval tradition has done for the *Smaakonge* of the *Märchen*. It has given to them much of the royal trappings of a far more developed civilisation, and decked them in the barbaric splendour of oriental monarchs.[1] A kingdom of at most a few square miles, a wife who is not immeasurably raised above the spinning and cattle-tending occupations of her handmaidens, these are what Hans sets out to win.

The mediæval peasant in preserving the *Märchen* for us has not soiled the royal dignity by associating it with millers' lads and goose-girls, but, on the contrary, he has perverted the primitive simplicity of king and queen by adding to tradition some of his experience of the glories of Holy Roman emperors, dukes, and princes. In those tales wherein we find the splendour of the mediæval courts, we may be fairly certain that the descent will be patriarchal, and that the bridal couple will go to *church*.[2] But the primitive association of

[1] Even in this respect it is well to bear in mind the weight of silver and silver-gilt ornaments that the wealthy peasants of both sexes of such a district as, say, the Upper Saetersdal, will still carry on their persons, even into the harvest-field.

[2] Take the tale *Der treue Johannes*, with its account of ships and merchandise, of gold and silver and wrought metals, where we find the son inherits from the father and goes to *church* with his bride. In the later forms of *Aschenputtel*—to be discussed more at length below—we find much royal grandeur, the king's son inherits and the bride goes to his home and to *church*. In *Das Mädchen ohne Hände*, the descent is again patriarchal; the king takes the bride

the *Märchen* king with the *Smaakonge* is not unnoticed by tradition itself, for we read in *De drei Vügelkens*:—

Et is wul dusent un meere Jaare hen, da wören hier in Lanne luter kleine Künige, da hed auck einer up den Keuterberge wünt. . . .

Nay, even the thousand and more years since there were innumerable "little kings"—literally *Smaakonge* —living in the land, may not be such a very poor chronological approximation of the story-teller, if we bear in mind the variety of estimates which far greater scientific authorities have formed of the age of the earth! Admitting for the present that the *Märchen* kings belong to the type which we find in both primitive Scandinavian and Greek tradition, let us examine what material the brothers Grimm have provided for an appreciation of the mode of life which they led.

In the first place, let us collect evidence of the association of kings and queens with those following humble, especially agricultural, pursuits.[1] For the moment putting on one side the character of Hans who marries the king's daughter, let us consider the type of bride selected by kings' sons. In *Die drei Spinnerinnen* the king's mother chooses a bride for her son, because she believes her untiring with the spinning-wheel.

Ich höre nichts lieber als spinnen, und bin nicht vergnügter als wenn die Räder schnurren; gebt mir eure Tochter mit ins

---

home and *angels* appear. In *König Drosselbart* we have a new patch on an old tale, the marriage is patriarchal and performed by a *priest*; so in *Die sechs Diener*, the prince takes his bride home and they go to *church*, etc.

[1] In *Der Vogel Greif* we note how valuable these little kings hold sheep, cows, and goats to be; as among peasants a king's importance is measured by his herds.

Schloss, ich habe Flachs genug, da soll sie spinnen so viel sie Lust hat.

Both the queen and the son hold that a poor but diligent maiden will make the most useful bride. In *Rumpelstilzchen* we have a variation of the same theme, a poor miller's daughter becoming the king's bride on account of her supposed capacity for spinning. In *Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel* it is again the diligent spinning of the maiden which makes her, in the eyes of the king's son, at once the poorest and richest. But it is not only diligent spinsters who find, for economical reasons, favour in royal eyes, the bridal selection is frequently made, without any regard to rank in the modern sense, from all the maidens of the kingdom. In *Die kluge Bauerntochter*, which in itself portrays the close relations of king and peasants, the king marries the peasant's daughter for her wisdom. In *De drei Vügelkens* the king and his two chief counsellors marry, without any reason being considered apparently needful, three maidens herding their cows under the Keuterberg. In *Die weisse und die schwarze Braut* the king marries a peasant girl, the sister of one of his servants. In *Das Waldhaus* the prince's bride is the daughter of a woodman. In *Die drei Federn* the king's sons bring home "die erste beste Bauernweiber,"—and so forth, for the cases can be easily multiplied, and the brides are drawn from the whole range of women following simple domestic and agricultural avocations, which in those days were as important to kings as to other folk. In the Norse *Vesle Aase Gaasepige* there is a king who has so many geese that he

requires a goose-girl for them. The "Kongsønnen fra Engeland" marries this goose-girl. In *Tro og Utro* we find the king looking after his *Gaard* or farm; he comes out to shoot the hawk which attacks his poultry, and he is keenly interested in the produce of his orchard. In *Per og Paal og Esben Askelad*, the *Kongsgaard* is described just like a farm. The king desires the removal of a hedge, and offers his daughter and half the kingdom to any one who will dig him a well with a supply of water all the year round, for "it is a shame that all his neighbours have such wells and he has not."

That kings' daughters can be won by peasant lads and the sons of the people is, of course, the chief theme of the *Märchen* proper, and we may take as the typical illustration of it the king's daughter who, in *Der arme Müllerbursch*, comes down to the mill to carry off the miller's lad as her husband. Indeed, Askelad marries the king's daughter quite as frequently as Aschenputtel the king's son.[1] Nor must it be thought that it is matrimony only that brings the low and high together. Princesses not only undertake menial offices, but find themselves quite at home in farmstead and household duties. In *Die wahre Braut*, as in the Norse *Kari Træstak*, the king's daughter tends the cattle; in *Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen* and *Die Gänsemagd*, she acts as goose-girl; in *De beiden Künigeskinner* she seeks employment at the mill, and is at once noticed by

[1] Even among the Lapps, the princess is made to choose from the populace. Thus in *The Silkweaver and her Husband* we read: "Once upon a time a poor lad wooed a princess and the girl wanted to marry him, but the Emperor was against the match. Nevertheless she took him at last, and they were wed together."

the queen, who walks out that way. In *Allerleirauh* the princess seeks service in the kitchen, where she soon gives evidence of her art in cooking, and, like the rest of the establishment, is brought into close contact with the king. The corresponding male picture is to be found in *Die sechs Diener*, where the king's son can transform himself into a swineherd and knows his work. As in *Der Eisenofen*, we find millers' and swineherds' daughters at hand ready to obey the king's behests; as in *Das Hirtenbüblein*, the king is prepared to adopt shepherd boys; or, as in *Die Gänsemagd*, he can appoint goose-boys their tasks; or, as in *Haaken Borkenskjaeg* (the Norse *König Bröselbart*), he superintends the operations of the kitchen; as in *De wilde Mann*, king's daughters are intimate with scullions and gardeners' lads, and may be punished for too great intimacy by being sent to work in the brew-house; as in the Norse *Askeladden, som fik Prindsessen til at lægste sig*, it seems quite natural to find the princess in the cow-stall. Nay, if further evidence be required of the simplicity of the life and surroundings of these primitive kings and queens, we can point to the manner in which, in *Der König vom goldenen Berge* and *De beiden Künigeskinner*, the royal women *lice* the heads of their consorts![1]

If it be said that these simple and primitive surroundings of royalty are merely additions of the mediæval peasant to the *Märchen* drawn from his own

[1] In the Norse tale *Fugl Dam* the twelve princesses are employed in licing the heads of the trold, and in *Soria Moria Slot* the princess lices the head of her husband, while the closeness of royalty to lice is emphasised also in the Lapp tale of *The King and the Louse*.

surroundings, and not features of the life of kings in a long past age, it is pertinent to ask why the peasant introduced so little else of the life of his own day. Emperors and kings, Mother Church, monks and high ecclesiastics, knights and lawyers, were all familiar, and too familiar, to the mediæval peasant, and quite as well calculated to impress his imagination. Yet how slight is the trace we find of them in genuine *Märchen!* Why should the peasant have left out these familiar things and retained such unfamiliar features of the *Märchen* as tiny kingdoms, through several of which a day's journey would carry one,[1] and such a strange law of inheritance as that of the matriarchate? There is little solution to be found for such problems, if we do not grant that the peasant simplicity of *Märchen* kings is as much an original characteristic of the civilisation to which they belong as the matriarchal law of descent itself.

To appreciate better the position of women in these little kingdoms, let us look a little more closely at some of the queens and some of the kings' daughters. We have already noted the position of influence taken by the witch, and pointed out how witchcraft is frequently associated with the women of the royal household, and its secrets handed down from mother to daughter.[2]

[1] "Towards evening he came to another king's dwelling," is as frequent in Scandinavian as German tales. Cf. *Rige Per Kraemmer* with *Das Wasser des Lebens.* Or, "When he had gone a good hour he came to a king's house"; cf. *Grimsborken.* We find precisely the same profusion of kings in the Lapp tales of *The Luck-Bird* and *The Humane Man and the Angel.*

[2] It is a general rule that the man, as in *De beiden Künigeskinner* or in *Brüderchen und Schwesterchen*, is no adept at magic, he must be aided by the woman. Only very rarely, as in *Fitchers Vogel* or *Das singende springende Löweneckerchen*, do we find a wizard. The dwarfs are the only males with a recognised power of working magic.

We may now notice other features of woman's power, in particular with regard to marriage and inheritance.

The influence of the queen-mother over her son is always great, and often extends to the choice or displacement of his wife. Thus the queen chooses the son's bride in *Die drei Spinnerinnen*, *De beiden Künigeskinner* ("Unnerdes hadde de Küniginne ene Frugge fur ehren Suhn socht"), and *Der Trommler*. This is, indeed, part of the essential primitive primacy of the queen in the kingdom. In *Der Räuber und seine Söhne* and *Der König vom goldenen Berge* we find kingdoms ruled by queens. The latter tale is of special significance, for the queen does not lose her kingdom by discarding her husband, but, on the contrary, by marrying a second will obviously convey her kingdom to him.[1] In *Der arme Müllerbursch*, *Die Erbsenprobe*, and *Die zwölf Jäger*, we find princesses apparently seized of their own kingdoms,[2] and seeking husbands for themselves. In *Das Mädchen ohne Hände* and *Die sechs Schwäne* the king lives with his mother. In *Der gute Handel*, we see the king's daughter sitting by her father in the place of justice; in *Die weisse Schlange*, *Das Räthsel*, *Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtet*, and *Die sechs Diener*, it is the princess herself who sets the task or propounds the riddle which is to win her and her kingdom. Now all this freedom and authority on the part of the woman—nay, the very existence of independent kingdom-con-

[1] One is again reminded of Clytemnestra.

[2] Note the importance which attaches to the illness of princesses. Such illness threatened the loss of the heiress apparent, *e.g.* in *Bruder Lustig* (twice) and *Der Vogel Greif*.

veying queens—was unfamiliar to the mediæval mind. The primitive Aryans, however, whether Teuton or Greek, knew of such a system. The winning of the bride by a task done for her mother, for her father, or for herself, which is so frequent a feature of the *Märchen*,[1] is no idle invention of the mediæval story-teller. It carries us back to a primitive form of civilisation common to Aryan, Hebrew, and Zulu. It is impossible to read *De beiden Künigeskinner* without being reminded of Jacob's service for Rachel and Leah, and feel that in the primitive form of the story the king's son won not the youngest, but all three daughters. Nor can we fully appreciate the tasks set by the old queen and her daughter in *Die sechs Diener* to would-be husbands, without comparing it with customs like those of the Bechuanas, among whom the wooer ploughs so much ground and brings so many oxen for his mother-in-law. The *Märchen*, to be understood, must be treated as a quarry in which are to be found the fossils of an antique civilisation, or rather of several successive antique civilisations.

In the Teutonic *Märchen*, however, the period of mother-right appears to be the stratum richest in fossils. The king is king, because he is the son of the queen, because he is the queen's husband,[2] because he marries her daughter. His power comes to him because he is of, or belonging to, the queen or *Kone*.[3] The princess, as heiress apparent, is the keynote of the typical *Märchen*.

[1] Typical examples in *Die drei Sprachen*, *Dat Erdmännchen*, and *Der Vogel Greif*.

[2] The Celtic term "wedding the kingdom" is a very apt illustration.

[3] See Essay XI. later.

Take *Die zwölf Brüder*, for example: here if the thirteenth child be a daughter, she will take the kingdom, if a son, the brothers need not go out into the world.[1] Or again, consider *Die drei Schlangenblätter*. The princess conveys the kingdom under the, to us, unusual condition that, if she dies first, her husband shall be buried alive with her; when she wearies of her husband, she offers marriage and her father's crown to the lover who has assisted her in killing her husband. The position of the king is precarious; as in *Der König vom goldenen Berge* he has not only to win bride and kingdom by the exercise of his strength, but to maintain them by his strong arm. Most frequently he has not even any claim of blood or birth to cast a halo round his person. In this respect it will not be without interest to notice the character of the hero in the cases in Grimm's collection in which the princess and kingdom are won.

Out of forty such cases we find the hero described seven times[2] as the son of poor parents, of a poor man, or of poor widow, etc., not including the cases in which three brothers of the lowly hero also obtain princesses as brides;[3] in four cases the hero is a tailor,[4] in three a peasant's son,[5] twice a hunter;[6] once in each case,

[1] This appears to have been also the original theme of the Norse *De tolv Vildænder*, and of the story of Lycaon, who, notwithstanding that he had many sons, was succeeded, according to Pausanias, by the offspring of his only daughter Callisto, a most surprising circumstance to the narrator.

[2] *Die drei Schlangenblätter*, *Der singende Knochen*, *Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren*, *Der Gevatter Tod*, *Der Ranzen, das Hütlein, und das Hornlein*, *Die vier kunstreichen Brüder*, and *Märchen von einem der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen*.

[3] *Die vier kunstreichen Brüder*.

[4] *Das tapfere Schneiderlein*, *Die beiden Wanderer*, *Vom klugen Schneiderlein*, and *Der gläserne Sarg*.

[5] *Hans mein Igel*, *Der Vogel Greif*, and *Der starke Hans*.

[6] *Das Erdmänneken* and *Der gelernte Jäger*.

broombinder's son, miller's lad, gardener's boy, drummer, and merchant's son.[1] Ascending in the scale, we find him four times a discharged soldier,[2] once a servant in a king's household,[3] once a count,[4] once a king, and nine times a king's son.[5] On three occasions he is more especially described as a *Dummling*—once when he is a king's son,[6] once as the son of poor parents,[7] and once without further details.[8] On one occasion only he is simply a 'man.'[9] It will thus be seen that only in about one-fourth of the cases is the king's daughter and her kingdom won by a man of royal or aristocratic blood. We are clearly in a world in which, between king on the one side and peasant and handicraftsman on the other, there are none of the intermediate ranks of mediæval life. We miss almost completely the whole range of feudal nobility, civic authorities, and town patricians so characteristic of the Middle Ages. We see king's sons competing merely as equals with agriculturalists and simple craftsmen for brides and kingdoms. The right of the plebeian majority to compete for princesses is still more marked in the

[1] *Die zwei Brüder*, *Der arme Müllerbursch*, *De wilde Mann*, *Der Trommler*, and *Der König vom goldenen Berge*, respectively.

[2] *Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt*, *Des Teufels russiger Bruder*, *Das blaue Licht*, and *Die zertanzten Schuhe*. It is important to note that the hero of *Die Bienenkönigin*, who is the king's son described as a *Dummling* in Grimm, appears in the Hessian version of the tale as a soldier.

[3] *Die weisse Schlange*.

[4] *Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen*.

[5] *Das Räthsel*, *Dornröschen*, *Das Wasser des Lebens*, *De beiden Künigeskinner*, *Die Bienenkönigin*, *Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtet*, *Der Eisenofen*, *Die sechs Diener* and *Das Eselein*. He is a king in *Die zwölf Brüder*.

[6] *Die Bienenkönigin*.

[7] *Märchen von einem der auszog das Fürchten zu lernen*.

[8] *Die goldene Gans*.

[9] *Die Rabe*

Scandinavian tales, which in many respects have preserved a more primitive character than the German. Thus out of nineteen Norwegian tales in which the king's daughter and kingdom are won, it only goes twice to a king's son,[1] but five times to the son of poor folk,[2] twice to the son of farmer or peasant,[3] once to a miller's lad,[4] and once to a fisher-lad.[5] On the remaining eight occasions it goes to *Askelad*,[6] while on the ninth occasion on which it goes to *Askelad*, he is one of the king's sons already included in our list.[7] 'Ashlad' is the Norwegian equivalent for *Dummling*, the insignificant member of a family, on whom the drudgery of the household is thrust,[8] and it is of significance that kings' sons can also be *Askelad* and *Dummling*.

If we go still farther north, to Lapland, we find kings' sons have entirely disappeared, and the plebeian character of kings is emphasised by peasant lads, poor boys, and scurvy-heads winning kings' daughters,[9] and obtaining royal power.

[1] *Fugl Dam*, and *Om Risen, som ikke havde noget Hjerte paa sig.*

[2] Poor widow's son in *Enkesønnen, Tro og Utro*, and *Det blaa Baandet*; poor folk's son in *Lillekort* and *Herreper.*

[3] *Grimsborken* and *Jomfruen paa Glasberget.*

[4] *Rige Per Kraemmer.* [5] *De tre Prindsesser i Hvidtenland.*

[6] *Om Askeladden som stjal Troldets Selvaender, Sengeteppe og Guldharpe, Spurvungen, Soria Moria Slot, De syv Folerne, Det har ingen Nød med den, som alle Kvindfolk er forlibt i, Askeladden som fik Prindsessen til at løgste sig, Per og Paal og Esben Askelad*, and *Jomfruen paa Glasberget.*

[7] *Om Risen, som ikke havde noget Hjerte paa sig.*

[8] Not without a secondary reference to one who sits stirring up the ashes and gazing into them—a dreamer.

[9] Compare the Lapp tales, *The Silkweaver and her Husband, Alder-tree Boy, The Three Brothers, The Boy and the Hare, The King and the Louse*, etc. "Lousyhead" of the Lapp tales corresponds to *Askeladden* in the Norwegian tale of *De syv Folerne*, whose head an old woman offers to lice for him when he sets about winning the princess.

the whole on the old king's death, passed to the hero. We thus seem to see stages in the law of inheritance by marriage, *e.g.* the receipt of the kingdom at once with the bride, then the receipt of half the kingdom as marriage portion, and lastly, the title alone of 'young king' follows the marriage, and the kingdom passes only to the young king on the old king's death. This *right* of the husband of the king's daughter to the kingdom at once, in the future, or in part at once, is well summed up in *Die goldene Gans*, where we are told :—

Da ward die Hochzeit gefeiert, und der Dummling *erbte* das Reich.

Sooner or later the bride conveys the kingdom, and this is the law of inheritance. But the king continues to hold the kingdom only so long as his wife lives, or if she be dead, until his daughter, the heiress apparent, conveys the kingdom or a part of it to the next young king.

The law of inheritance which gives one-half the kingdom as marriage portion to the king's daughter, and presumably the other half on the old king's death, is practically universal in the Norse tales. Exceptions, like *Herreper*, occur, but in such cases we do not hear of the old king at all, the princess appears to have complete possession of the kingdom. Thus in the following thirteen tales: *Om Askeladden som stjal Troldets Selvaender, Sengeteppe og Guldharpe, Fugl Dam, Spurningen, Rige Per Kraemmer, Enkessønnen, Lillekort, De syv Folerne, Grimsborken, Tro og Utro, Per og Paal og Esben Askelad, Jomfruen paa Glasberget, Askeladden som fik Prindsessen til at lægste*

sig, and *Det har ingen Nød med den, som alle Kvindfolk er forlebt i*,[1]—we are distinctly told that the hero received one-half the kingdom with his bride. Still farther north in Lapland we find in such tales as *Alder-tree Lad* and *The Boy and the Hare* the same law of inheritance.

Many things in *Märchen* are, of course, inexplicable on any rationalistic grounds. Much of the faith in magic —though not all—is chiefly of value to the folklorist as enabling him to appreciate the intellectual development of the minds in which such beliefs were current. But the social customs illustrated in the *Märchen* have nothing to do with magic; they are not the mere topsy-turvy invention of story-tellers seeking after nonsense, for had they been they would not have been so self-consistent, nor spread with such uniformity from Italy to Lapland. They represent the social customs of the age in which the *Märchen* took their origin, and in that age we may safely assert that the law of inheritance was *mother-right*,—descent through the woman—and that the habits of the people were not so far removed from that primitive type I have dealt with in the essays on "Woman as Witch" and "Group-Marriage."

The reader may here possibly remark that he has noted in the *Märchen* nothing of the sex-festivals or kindred-marriages discussed in the above papers. The reason for this is, that few fossil customs which are intelligible to a later age, and clearly offensive to its moral ideas, will be preserved by the oral tradition which circulates round

[1] In this tale the other half of the kingdom is to follow on the death of the old king.

hearth and home. We have to seek for fossils which have been preserved by their being superficially unrecognisable; we can find only indirect evidence of what the old forms of marriage were like. Thus a trace of the old kindred group-marriage may, I think, be found in the frequency with which in the *Märchen* a group of brothers marries a group of sisters. Thus in *Die Bienenkönigin* three brothers wander out and marry the three daughters of a king;[1] in *Schneeweisschen und Rosenroth* two sisters marry two brothers; and in *De beiden Künigeskinner* we have distinct traces of the hero marrying all three king's daughters. In the more primitive Lapp tales we hear, as in *The Tschuds and Russleleaf*, of "two brothers who were married each to his sister"; and, as in *The Giant-bird*, of the two lads who had one king's daughter between them to wife; while, as in the German tales, the marriage of two or three brothers to two or three sisters is common, *e.g. The Tschuds in Sundegjeld.* A trace of the old sex-festival may further be found in the tale of *Die zertanzten Schuhe.* Here twelve kings' daughters slip out at night through a mysterious forest to a wonderful *Schloss*, and dance with twelve princes. The old choral character of the marriage feast is evidenced in *Der liebste Roland*, where we are told that it was a custom in the land that all the maidens should come and sing in honour of the bridal pair. In *Das singende springende Löweneckerchen* we hear of the marriage-lights, and the bridal procession being accompanied by many torches. In *Der König vom goldenen*

[1] In the Norse tale *Niern, som ikke havde noget Hjerte paa sig*, no less than six brothers take as brides six sisters, king's daughters; see also Essay XI. below.

Berg the bridal fiddles and pipes resound; while in both *Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtet* and *Der Trommler* we see that the marriage festival was in the evening or at night. Lastly, the hostility which the witches offer (as in *Jorinde und Joringel*) to chaste maidens is not without its suggestiveness, if the witch be the degraded form of the old priestess of the goddess of fertility, and the witches' Sabbath a relic of the old sex-festival. Such a goddess of fertility actually crops up in the appeal of *Dat Mäken von Brakel* for a husband to St. Anne in the Hinnenborg Chapel. It will be seen that the marriage of the *Märchen* is more akin to that of the free Friesian woman, with its choral song and torches by night, than to the sober ceremony of the church. Indeed I can only recall seven tales in which any reference is made to a religious ceremony at marriage, and the majority of these are late, because they are marked by a patriarchal law of inheritance. Thus in *Der treue Johannes*, *Aschenputtel*, *König Drosselbart*, *De beiden Künigeskinner*, and *Die sechs Diener* we are dealing with kings or kings' sons, who take their brides to church and afterwards to their own home or kingdom. The wife rides off with her husband, and it is a *Brautlauf* of the patriarchal period, not an ancient matriarchal *Heileich* with which we are dealing. The remaining two of the seven tales in which the church ceremony is referred to are those of *Vom klugen Schneiderlein* and of *Die wahre Braut*, and in these the husband does go to the wife's home. The mention of the church in the first may easily be a later addition, and the casual reference to the priest in the last line of

the latter is not a primitive characteristic like the betrothal-kiss under the linden tree. Indeed, what business has a priest to be hanging about in the court-yard of a wonder-castle? He is obviously an incongruity introduced in the course of tradition by a pious narrator, who thought that the consecration of the marriage would atone for the very heathen origin of the creature comforts the pair were about to enjoy.

Yet the reader may object that, out of the five 'patriarchal' *Märchen* with church marriages to which we have referred, one at the least, namely *Aschenputtel* or *Cinderella*, is a typical fairy tale; and that in this typical tale the prince obviously inherits his father's kingdom, takes his bride to church, and afterwards to his own home. Why, then, is mother-right any more than father-right to be considered peculiar to the period when fairy tales took their origin? Why is *Cinderella*, with its general currency and many versions, to be put on one side for *Hans seeks his Luck?* To answer these questions, I must remind the reader that my thesis is not that *all*, but only that the majority of *Märchen* take their rise in matriarchal not in patriarchal times; and, further, that more than one *Märchen*, which is now current in a patriarchal form, can be traced back to a version in which the distinctive features are matriarchal. This is peculiarly the case with *Cinderella.*

In order to grasp this we must bear in mind how much stress ought to be laid on a comparative study of the *Märchen* of different lands, and how often a difficulty which arises in the version current in one land or district may be elucidated by that of another. Thus, take the Teutonic

giant, for example, he is very strong, he is stupid, he eats men, and he possesses the curious characteristic, although a male, of suckling infants.[1] When we go north into Lapland, and then turn into Russia, we find the same strong, stupid, man-eating being, but the sex is now female, and the suckling no longer a matter of difficulty.[2] In this case the change is from male to female, but in the case of *Cinderella* the change is from female to male. When we pass from Germany to Norway, *Ash-lad* replaces *Cinder-girl*, and the prince who conducts Cinderella to church, and rides off with her to his paternal home, is replaced by the princess who bestows her hand on *Askelad*, and thus gives him the right to the kingdom. In other words, *Cinderella* is only a late, and we must even say perverted, version of *Hans seeks his Luck*. The main features are the same in the two cases, but the sexes of the chief characters have changed, and with the sex patriarchal custom has been changed to mother-right.

In the German we have *Aschenputtel* despised by her two sisters, and sitting at home among the cinders.

[1] In *Der junge Riese* the giant suckles a man, and in *Die Rabe* he has to go home to suckle his child.

[2] Compare the stupid man-eating giantess in *Alder-tree Lad*, the giant-wife in *Family Strong*, Ivvar's mother, etc., with *Jaga baba* and other Russian giant heroines. Nor is it only in Lapland and Russia where the sex of the giant is predominantly female, we find a great number of old Norse words for giantess with no male equivalents, e.g. *gýgr*, *skessa*, *gríðr*, *gífr*, etc. These were Titanic women approaching to deities, and probably related to the tribal-mother, priestess, and goddess ideas to which we have referred in Essays IX. and XI. It is noteworthy that *giants* themselves, *gigantes*, denote nothing else than "the produced." In mediæval times they were invariably looked upon as the *illicit* produce of mortal women by unknown fathers, *e.g.* due to eating forbidden herbs, or to the "sons of god." The terms *gigantа cyn* of Beowulf and *gigantsceáp* of Cædmon suggest at once the kin-produce of a tribal-mother from the old cannibal days of the mother-age.

In the Norwegian[1] we have two elder brothers who thrust the menial work of the household upon *Askelad*, and scorn him as well. In the German all the maidens of the kingdom are summoned to a court ball, in order that the prince may choose a bride. "You, Cinderella!" say the sisters, "you, covered with dust and dirt, want to go to the ball, and yet you have no clothes!" In the Norwegian the king's daughter, and, of course, half the kingdom, is set as a prize for any youth of the kingdom who can achieve a difficult task. Ashlad's brothers set out to try their luck, and Ashlad will go also. "You, too!" cry the brothers, "you are fit for nothing better than sitting at home and poking in the cinders." As in the case of Cinderella, Ashlad goes all the same without his brothers knowing about it. In the German it is the spirit of *Aschenputtel's* mother (as it is Cinderella's godmother) that helps her to win the prince, while her sisters are rejected. In the Northern version it is a legacy of *Askelad's* father, a white witch he meets on the way, or the animals to whom he is kind, that help him to success, while his brothers fail. In the German *Aschenputtel's* sisters return to find her seated in her rags among the ashes, and never suspect she has been at the ball, and this occurs on three occasions. On the last occasion she loses her shoe, which afterwards serves as a means of identifying her. In the Norwegian *Askelad* hastens back after the contest on each of the three days, throws off his fine clothes, and is found by his brothers

[1] The titles of nine Norwegian tales about *Askelad* are given in the sixth and seventh footnotes to p. 77. The first, fifth, seventh, and eighth are of most interest for our present purpose.

sitting among the cinders. They tell him what has happened, how one finely-dressed youth has on the first two days nearly, and on the third day completely, achieved the task set. They never suspect *Askelad* of being this youth. "I should like to see him, too," says *Askelad.* In the German we have the attempt to find among the maidens of the kingdom the one whom the shoe will fit. All are examined, and none can wear the shoe. Finally, the king's son is told either by the sisters or by the father that there is one girl left, a dirty little miserable Cinderella, but she cannot possibly be the bride. The king's son insists upon seeing her, the shoe fits, and she becomes the royal bride. In the best Norwegian version (*Jomfruen paa Glasberget*) the task set is to ride up the glass-hill—possibly an ice-field—and receive a golden apple from the princess at the top. No one but *Askelad* can ride any way up. On the first day he rides up one-third of the way, and the princess rolls a golden apple down to him, which lodges in his *shoe;* on the second day no one but *Askelad* makes any progress, but he rides two-thirds of the way up, and a second golden apple is rolled down to him, and lodges again in his *shoe;* on the third day he rides the whole way up, and takes the apple from the princess's lap. Then comes the search for the holder of the golden apples. No one is forthcoming. The king orders that "all who are in the land"[1] shall come to the royal residence in order that the apples may be

[1] The examination of all the youths or of all the maidens of the 'kingdom' at the king's dwelling, which occurs in German, Norse, and Lapp tales, is another good piece of indirect evidence as to the size of these primitive kingdoms.

found. It is in vain. The two last youths to come are the brothers of *Askelad*, and the king demands of them if there are no other youths in the kingdom. "Oh yes, we have a brother, but he certainly has not got the golden apples; he did not leave the cinder heap on any of the days."—"It is all the same," said the king, "if all the others have come up to the castle, he can come too." *Askelad* comes and shows the apples. He receives the king's daughter and half the kingdom as reward. The reference to the lodging of the apples in *Askelad's* shoe seems clearly to point to an earlier version, in which a search must have been made of all the shoes of the youths of the kingdom. The correspondence of *Askelad* with *Aschenputtel* would then, if possible, have been still more complete.

In the Lapp version (*The Three Brothers*) it is *Ruöbba*, or scurvy-head, who, by fulfilling the last duties to his father, which his brothers neglect, receives the wonder-staff, and so is enabled to get fine clothes and a horse. The tale runs just like the Norse, except that the contest is now a jumping-match. The princess sits on a high stage, and the youth who can jump so high that the princess can press the signet-ring bearing her name on his forehead shall win her as bride. We have all the usual incidents of Ruöbba sitting at home among the ashes, and his brothers coming back and recounting the strange rider's prowess, Ruöbba's apparent ignorance, and the king's inspection of the foreheads of all the youths in his kingdom to find his daughter's name. The king, failing to find it, asks if there be no other lad in the kingdom, and Ruöbba's brothers reply, "Yes, we

have a brother at home, but we don't like to name the fellow, for he does nothing else but sit in the ashes and pluck out his scurf; and, besides that, he was not at the contests." Ruöbba is sent for, and the princess's name found impressed on his forehead. He reappears in his fine clothes, and the bridal feast lasts three full days.

So far it will be seen the Northern version, with its *Ash-lad* in place of the *Cinder-girl*, is exactly parallel to the German, and is as widely spread. But the reader may ask: What reason, beyond the assumed older law of inheritance, beyond the disappearance of the ride to church with the prince, have we for asserting that *Askelad* is the original version of *Cinderella?* Why, after all, may not the girl have been converted into a boy, as the story passed northwards? The answer is fairly conclusive. While, in the nineteenth century, the Brothers Grimm could find a variety of versions of the Cinderella tale, yet all the references to this tale from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Germany itself point to an Ash-lad and not to a Cinder-girl. Thus Rollenhagen speaks of the wonderful tale of the "Despised and pious *Aschenpössel*, and his proud and scornful brothers." More than one mediæval preacher refers to the male Ashiepattle, and even Luther compares Abel and Cain to *Aschenbrödel* and his proud brother.[1] Thus, in Germany itself, the matriarchal form of the tale is seen to be the older. Nor is this transfer of sex and detail, so that they fit better with patriarchal customs, confined only to *Cinderella*. *Allerleirauh*,

[1] For further references see Grimm, *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, Bd. iii. p. 38. Berlin, 1822.

another patriarchal *Märchen*, in some respects akin to *Aschenputtel*, can also be traced back to versions in which a king's son lives as kitchen-lad under the stairs. Thus not only is *Hans seeks his Luck* the commonest type of *Märchen*, but even some of the most striking of the nursery tales which tell of the winning of princes by simple maids can be traced back to a matriarchal form. *Cinderella*, so far from being an argument against the theme of this essay, is seen on further investigation to strongly confirm it. Cinderella is only Hans in disguise, and the change of sex is merely the fashion in story-telling following the change in social institutions.

If the views expressed in this essay be correct, then we need no longer feel the people and land of our childhood strange and false. As we read fairy stories to our children, we may study history ourselves. No longer oppressed with the unreal and the *baroque*, we may see primitive human customs, and the life of primitive man and woman, cropping out in almost every sentence of the nursery tale. Written history tells us little of these things, they must be learnt, so to speak, from the mouths of babes. But there they are in the *Märchen* as invaluable fossils for those who will stoop to pick them up and study them. Back in the far past we can build up the life of our ancestry—the little kingdoms, the queen or her daughter as king-maker, the simple life of the royal household, and the humble candidate for the kingship, the priestess with her control of the weather, and her power over youth and maid. In the dimmest distance we see traces of the earlier kindred group-marriage, and in the nearer foreground the beginnings

of that fight with patriarchal institutions which led the priestess to be branded by the new Christian civilisation as the evil-working witch of the Middle Ages. All this and something more may be learnt by the elder, while little eyes sparkle and little cheeks grow warm over the success which attends kindly, simple Ashiepattle in the search for his luck.

XI

KINDRED GROUP-MARRIAGE[1]

PART I

MOTHER-AGE CIVILISATION

In things of this kind many points must be established before you can assign the true law of the thing in question, and it must be approached by a very circuitous road; wherefore all the more I call for an attentive ear and mind. LUCRETIUS, Bk. vi.

(1) IN studying the natural history of the lower forms of life, we are at once impressed by the large part which the hunt for food on the one hand, and the gratification of the sex-instinct on the other, play in animal existence. The further we go back, also, in the natural history of man, the more dominant the same activities become; in fact, the history of civilisation is largely a history of the origin and development of new activities serving to some extent to modify and limit the all-absorbing character of these primitive pursuits. But to trace this history of civilisation we require, in the first place, to have a knowledge of the stages through which the momentum of man's more primitive and animal

[1] Originally read as a paper in 1885, but now published for the first time.

instincts have carried him,—we must investigate his history in the days of his barbarism, when brute-appetites ruled his unconscious development, and he established customs and contracted habits still faintly shadowed in the language, ceremonies, and institutions of to-day. The control of the primitive appetites of the individual in the interests of the group, wherever and however it arose, was the germ of the first stable society, the genesis of morality. Hence if the soundest ethical theory makes no attempt to explain what men in general ought to do or forbear from doing, but describes how experience in a long course of ages has developed, and tradition maintained, a code of right and wrong peculiar to each individual human society, then to clearly understand our moral position to-day we must investigate its origin in the far past, when the gregarious instinct moulded the brute appetites of individuals, and the first social customs and institutions were established. Fundamental among these primitive social institutions is the organisation of sex,—and if the morally desirable be treated, not supernaturally, but sanely, as the socially desirable, we still see in the genesis of morality some excuse for that narrow, but sadly prevalent, state of mind which identifies immorality with anti-social conduct in sexual matters. If the origin of the maternal instinct can be described without the aid of supernatural terms, then the history of the appearance and survival of institutions and customs more and more fostering the gregarious instinct in man will suffice to show that naturalism is able to account for the development of morality by the extra-group struggle for exist-

ence. We need not join in that despairing cry of, "We know nothing, let us believe all things."

The frame of mind summed up in "reason starved, imagination drunk" is never profitable, least of all in social difficulties. Therein, as in a dynamical problem, an accurate knowledge of the initial conditions is essential to the discovery of a solution. The present essay attempts to describe some of those initial conditions as they concern the great problem of sex. It makes no attempt at solution; it solely endeavours to remove certain misconceptions with regard to the prehistoric sex-relations among our Teutonic forefathers. But the reader who grasps that a thousand years is but a small period in the evolution of man, and yet realises how diverse were morality and customs in matters of sex in the period which this essay treats of, will hardly approach modern social problems with the notion that there is a rigid and unchangeable code of right and wrong. He will mark, in the first place, a continuous flux in all social institutions and moral standards; but, in the next place, if he be a real historical student, he will appreciate the slowness of this steady secular change; he will perceive how almost insensible it is in the lifetime of individuals, and although he may work for social reforms, he will refrain from constructing social Utopias.

(2) The historian who wishes to reconstruct the prehistoric social relations of any civilised race has, like the naturalist, to build up the past from fossils. These fossils are, in the historian's case, embedded in language, in primitive customs, in folklore, in *Weisthümer*, in

peasant festivals, in children's jingles and dances, and to a lesser extent in the records of historians of other and more advanced nations, in primitive law, and in saint-legends and hero-sagas. Written history—or even pseudo-history, which for the sociologist is often more valuable—belongs to a comparatively late period of development, indeed to a type of tribal organisation which is characteristic of a patriarchal civilisation. We are compelled therefore to turn to fossils, if we wish to reconstruct the social habits of any earlier period. The difficulty of any such reconstruction does not, however, lie in the paucity of fossils, but rather in their superabundance; above all, in the accurate determination of the particular stratum of social custom to which individual fossils belong. Personally, I have been impressed with the mass of material, and with the labour required to classify it, rather than disheartened by the faint traces which some writers appear to find of group-marriage and mother-age customs.[1] No legend, no bit of folklore of India, Greece, Scandinavia, or Germany which comes to my notice seems without new meaning when examined from the standpoint of an early sex-relationship, which is *not* that usually assumed for the Aryan peoples. The great struggle for sex-supremacy,—the contest between patriarchal and matriarchal folks,—this, one of the chief factors of human history, receives infinite light from the struggle of patrician Rome with the Etruscan nations, and indeed with the whole East, from the survival of an obscure

[1] I hope later to publish essays dealing with the fossil evidence in folklore, hero-legend, primitive laws, and festivals, etc., the material for which has been already collected.

tribe of Hebrews in that same East, and from the ultimate ejection of the more intensely matriarchal Celts from Eastern and Central Europe by the Teutonic races. Everywhere we have the survival of a more efficient civilisation, the triumph of a society in which the male was supreme, over one largely organised on a female basis.

We may fully admit the superiority of Roman to Etruscan, of Hebrew to Philistine civilisation, and yet decline to draw any argument from it for the subjection of woman at the present day. To draw such an argument would be as idle as to deduce the inferiority of man from the existence of an age in which customs and civilisation were chiefly the product of female ingenuity. We may fully admit the dark side of that mother-age, its human sacrifices, its periodic sexual license, its want of strong incentives to individual energy; we may recognise these things, indeed, as the sources of its collapse before a more active social variation. But, at the same time, we must fully acknowledge the immense services which that early civilisation of woman has rendered to the human race. What those services are may, I think, be concisely summed up in an analogy, thrown out as a mere fancy, but which yet may indicate some unrecognised law of growth.

It is a biological hypothesis, which, however whimsical, has yet been fruitful of results, that the prenatal life of the individual, from the development of the ovum through all the fetal changes, represents with more or less exactness in microcosm the development of the species in macrocosm from some very simple ancestral

form. The development of the child after birth seems to me to represent in a similar manner many features of the growth of primitive man from barbarism to civilisation. Adopting the analogy, we may say that all that the child in microcosm learns from its mother, that humanity in macrocosm gained from the early civilisation of woman, —from the mother-age. The elements of social conduct with regard to the family and its group of friends,—hardly with regard to the state—the round of household duties and domestic foresight, the beginnings of religious faith and the elements of human knowledge, above all, in a still earlier stage the use of language,—these the child acquires from its mother, and these mankind acquired largely—I will not say wholly—from a civilisation in which the female element was predominant. If our analogy be a true one, and if a mother-age preceding the father-age be admitted, then we should expect primitive language, above all the early words of relationship and sex, to throw much light on woman's civilisation. The object of this essay is to follow up this idea within the range of the Teutonic languages.

The writer is far from unconscious of the hardihood of his enterprise. He is fully aware of the danger, and the outcry, which ever arises when the unlicensed poacher raids the preserves of the specialists. He is quite prepared to be told that not only is he a trespasser, but that he has committed diverse offences against established laws. Some of these he may be prepared to admit; the more readily if the professional philologist will recognise, in turn, the importance of folk-lore and primitive custom in the interpretation of words;

for the philological is but one strand of the rope which the anthropologist twists from folklore, mythology, and hero-legend. If the philologist describes for us from language a state of society which receives no support from these other sources of knowledge, then we are, perhaps, justified in treating the present stage of his science with less respect than he claims for it. Above all, the time (1885) is an opportune one for a raid; the bubble of the primitive Aryan leading a pastoral life in Asia has burst. We may look to Lithuania, or even to Scandinavia, with as much justification as to Asia for the home of the Aryan; and it is hardly possible now to assert that the existence of a root in Teutonic dialects, which has no known equivalent in Sanskrit, is certainly a mark of late origin. It is impossible now to argue that the fundamental idea attached to such a root must be of a later growth than a primitive Aryan civilisation of a patriarchal type.

Let us be quite clear as to the real issue involved, for it is a crucial one. If the interpretation of the names of relationship as given by the professional philologists be correct, then there never was a mother-age; or all its words of relationship were completely extinguished under a later patriarchal régime. It is not a question of change of use, but of the fundamental ideas connected with the roots of the words used for relationship. The change of use would be intelligible, every word has a long use-history. The extinction of every word marking such all-important relations as those of sex is one that the sane anthropologist will never admit; and the sole alternative, if the philologists have really described the civilisation

of the primitive Aryan, is to give up an epoch of woman's predominance.

Now I fancy that the philologists, however much they may believe their conclusions to flow from the principles of their science, have really adopted their interpretations because they fitted in with an erroneous anthropological conception, widely current when philology was in its infancy, namely, that human civilisation arose with a fully developed patriarchal system. This idea, shared by the Grimms, and not a real science of language, has, I venture to think, been the keynote to the philologists' interpretation of the Aryan words of relationship. They sought to confirm a social system they had adopted on extraneous grounds, and they evolved a delightful picture of a primitive Aryan family, coloured by their acquaintance with the Roman *patria potestas* and with the Hebrew feeders of flocks. A little further investigation might have shown them that Hebrew and Roman were not general types but exceptions amid the populations which surrounded them.

In fact, philological interpretations appear to me to neglect a sound anthropological principle, which I will ask the reader of this essay to bear in mind throughout the perusal of it, namely: *For the primitive human being the chief motives to action are the desire for food and the instinct of sex. Hence the meanings of the early words for relationship must be sought in the sex-functions of their bearers—the most primitive of all ideas—and not in their domestic or tribal occupations.*[1]

[1] It is instructive to note how very large a part of the specific cries of animals have relation to the same motives.

(3) I will commence my subject by laying before the reader what may be termed the usual interpretation of the chief Aryan words of relationship, such an interpretation as will be found in the writings of Jakob Grimm, Max Müller, or more recently and completely in Deecke's work, *Die deutschen Verwandschaftsnamen.* To the latter book I owe much help in the suggestion of Aryan roots, little or nothing in the matter of interpretation. My interpretation is principally based on the manner in which Old Saxon and Old High German words of relationship and their cognates are glossed in early manuscripts. Collections of these glosses have been published by Graff and Schmeller.

The patriarchate assumes a tribal father or family-head ruling a group of human beings, who are more or less completely subjected to his authority. The mission of woman in such a group is a household one, and the wife is often scarcely distinguishable from a cluster of maids and concubines, who assist her in her labours. The daughters of the household are entirely in the power of the father, who sells or gives them away at his pleasure. On the death of the father, either a new tribal father is chosen, who takes the full authority of the old, and in many cases his wives (possibly even if he be the son), or else the group breaks up into new family groups, each headed by a son, among whom the father's property is distributed. The women of the house do not inherit property, but are property, passing from the hands of the father into that of brother or husband. With this rough draft of the patriarchate before us, let us examine how the words of relationship have been interpreted, con-

fining ourselves to the chief terms, and these principally in their Teutonic forms.

Mann, man, simply denotes the thinker; *Weib*, wife, the weaver; *Braut*, bride, is supposed to be connected with a Sanskrit root *b'rud*, meaning to veil, and therefore conveying the same notion of subjection as Latin *nubere*. The root *ht*, as in *Heirath* and *Heim*, denotes house, and marriage is the foundation of a new house or home. *Vermählung* marks the formal ceremony of marriage, so-called from its taking place before the old folk-assembly or *Mahal*. *Vater*, father, is the ruler, feeder, or protector. *Mutter*, mother, is the measuring or managing one, from a root *ma*, to prepare or construct. *Tochter*, daughter, is ultimately deduced from a root *d'ug* to milk, and signifies the milker. *Bruder*, brother, is the possessor, the protector, namely, of the *Schwester* or sister, who, according to Deecke, is the dependent one, the one who by nature and blood belongs to the brother. Thus Deecke makes the terms brother and sister correlatives from the very beginning. The sister is the ruled one, for whom the brother is the legal representative and has the *Nächstrecht*. One more example of this method of interpretation, namely that of *Wittwe*, widow. This is derived from the Sanscrit *vid'ava*, the woman without a *d'ava*, which appears in late Sanscrit for man, and has been connected with a root meaning sacrifice. Thus the widow is the woman who has no one to sacrifice for her—to perform sacrifices for the household being assumed to be the duty of the husband. We may stop here to remark that the word widow has cognates in all Aryan tongues, but

d'ava, either as a man or a sacrificer, appears in no recognisable Teutonic form; while, according to the evidence of Roman historians, not only the seers, but the sacrificers among the early Teutons were women.[1] It is clear, I think, that the above interpretations, which might easily be largely multiplied, have been invented with the patriarchate in view, and are not solely the outcome of purely philological investigations.

In addition to the above words I might cite a whole series like *veddjan*, wed, a widely-spread root in Scandinavian dialects, denoting to yoke, or bind, and so to marry; *Ehe*, a legal or binding contract, and so a marriage; *kaufen*, to buy, *i.e.* to buy a wife, and so to marry. These and many other such words undoubtedly do point to a patriarchal régime, but they are of very late origin, and we can almost mark their first use as words of sex.

Nothing to my mind is more suggestive of the danger of specialism in anthropology than such a philological scheme as may be found in the concluding pages of Deecke's book. A complete patriarchal family system is worked out for the primitive Aryans on the basis of such interpretation of the terms of relationship as those I have just indicated. We find an elaborate code of duties for parents and children, for uncles, aunts, and brothers-in-law, developed from the supposed roots of their names. Did space permit me to quote the whole of it, my readers would, I think, wonder with me how complex society had grown, and how multifarious

[1] It is worth noting that there is much anthropological evidence to show that most early sacrifices were made by women and not by men.

the rights and duties of its members had become, before it occurred to any one to give those members names.

(4) Let us now turn to the matriarchal system of primitive life, and, after sketching its broad outlines, inquire what evidence there is for supposing the words of relationship and sex to have taken their origin in such a stage of social growth, rather than in the patriarchal. It is in a period of kindred group-marriage that I find myself forced to seek for an explanation of these words. It must be remembered that what we briefly speak of as the mother-age covers several successive phases of civilisation, and of such phases those of group-marriage are among the earliest. Without dogmatising, I may suggest tentatively that the lair or den originally provided by the mother for child-bearing and rearing, developed in comfort to such an extent that the sons preferred staying by the mother and taking part in the elementary agriculture of the women to hunting on their own account. This led to complete promiscuity, or at least seasonal pairing, being succeeded by normal conditions, first of brother-sister and afterwards of kindred group-marriage. Be the source of these conditions, however, what they may, the earliest mythologies and folk-customs distinctly point to the first permanent relations of sex being those between kindred; and this view is confirmed also by the Teutonic words of relationship. The most primitive theogony is that of Mother Earth and her Son.

The latter is usually depicted as an agriculturist, and not infrequently as killing or emasculating his father, who, if he can be identified, is of the wild,

barbaric, hunting or giant-type.[1] Nearly as old is the mythology which supplements the mother-goddess by a brother as spouse. Much later than either comes as deity a patriarchal All-father ruling a kindred group. I cannot now enter upon the causes which led to the termination of the brother-sister sexual relation, but there is considerable evidence to show that there was a differentiation first of the elder sister, and that the social prohibition was only gradually extended to the younger. As the social unit enlarged, we find a group of men, brothers or cousins in blood, having sexual relations with a like group of women, who may or may not be blood relations of the men. This is the system I would refer to as that of kindred group-marriage. Evidences of its existence are still to be found in several Australian races. In these cases the men of one tribe have wives from the women of a second, or in some cases they are co-husbands of all the women of a second. Yet although this group-marriage is exogamous, at certain great tribal festivals the men and women of the *same* tribe indulge promiscuously in what at another period would be prohibited intercourse. This interesting fossil of the transition of group-marriage from the endogamous to exogamous type is of special value, for it illustrates a common feature of kindred group-marriage—the custom of periodical gatherings which are at the same time sex-festivals. These meetings for the purpose of reproduction are singularly characteristic of group-marriage, and would seem to indicate that in the distant past the sex-instinct

[1] The fact that the son in both Celtic and Norse mythology is represented as breaking the ground with a *stone* hammer or axe is suggestive of the period of such mother-son theogonies.

among human beings was either periodic or periodically exercised. Such festivals would naturally result in a majority of births occurring at a stated period of the year, and there is some evidence to corroborate this.[1] However this may be, the great sex-festivals of the stage of civilisation to which I am referring must be kept carefully in mind. In different parts of Teutonic Europe these festivals were at different dates, and probably depended to a great extent on the early or late arrival of spring; their general features remain, indeed, markedly alike, whether they take place in April or June.[2]

There is always a common meal, followed by a sacrifice, occasionally with traces of human victims, to the goddess of fertility; then the group transact their judicial business, if so it may be called—the kin-talk—whence ultimately arose the principles of the *maegelagu*. Then came dancing, always of a choral nature and principally the function of the women; finally, the night falls on a scene of license. The meeting-place for the festival is either a hilltop, a sacred tree, or

[1] It might throw some light indeed on the reason why all the males of the Irish Ultonian tribe underwent their *couvade* at the same time.

[2] Such sex-festivals are almost universal. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 294) gives an account of Arabian sex-festivals to a mother-son deity, with much evidence of polyandrous customs. Schiltberger in his *Reisebuch* of 1484 tells us that in "Chönig Soldan's" land sexual freedom was allowed to the women on Friday, which was their feast-day; and neither husband nor any one else could hinder them "wann es also gewonhaitt ist." In the Middle Ages we find many fossils of these sex-feasts in semi-heathen festivals. Thus it was not till 1524 that Ferdinand abolished the bacchanalian dances of the women from the public brothels with the Viennese craftsmen round the fires in the great square on St. John's Eve. The same *schöne Frauen*, always by right and custom, attended the public dances on great feast-days in many mediæval towns. But to enter into this subject would carry us too far into the folklore evidences for primitive group-marriage.

the cleared space by spring or *Brunnen*. The group itself occupied a palisaded or fenced dwelling, and appears to have had considerable social and some amount of defensive organisation,—probably a leader, in case of fighting, was chosen by the whole group. From this leader ultimately arose the father as tribal father (before the father as family-father), and so the patriarchal system. Round the fenced dwelling we should find the common land of the group tilled for its common benefit and used for the group cattle, and probably a more or less ample girdle of wood separating one settlement from a second. Under the patriarchal system the whole develops into the *Mark*, which receives a new significance when its customs are interpreted in the light of group-marriage. Each district had its particular mother-goddess, who may have been common to several groups which had branched off from a common parent group. This goddess, whether called Nerthus, Berchta, Gode, Frû, Hilde, Walpurga, or Verena, was essentially a goddess of fruition. She is the source of fertility in land, in animals, and in human beings; she is both a goddess of agriculture and a goddess of love. She favours the crops, aids women in childbirth; and yet her worship is associated with what appeared to a later age as the wildest forms of license. Furthermore, the primitive savagery of this early form of human society is marked by the underlying element of cruelty to be traced in the nature of Berchta, Gode, or Hilde.

The servants of these goddesses were priestesses, or, at a later date, men dressed as women; and the traces we

find of sibyls, prophetesses, and medicine-women in the primitive groups are of striking interest.[1] Among the early Celts many of the groups seem to have been called after the goddess as primeval tribal-mother.[2] I have not yet been able to identify any Teutonic tribal name as derived from a goddess, but certain names appear to originate in a female name which may possibly be that of a forgotten goddess.[3] On the whole, it is surprising how many Celtic and Teutonic genealogies end in a female name; and many more will probably be found to do so, when the pedigrees are studied with this possibility in view. The representative of the tribal-mother, the female head of the group, was the depositary of tribal custom and religion; and through her the property of the group descended. Without realising this law of descent, the tragedy of Agamemnon and Aegisthus, and the fairy tales of Ashiepattle and Hans, become alike unintelligible. To kill the king and marry his wife was to win the kingdom; to marry the king's daughter was to obtain the right of succession. The earliest and most bloody incidents of legend and primitive history turn on the contest between this law of descent and that of paternal inheritance. The latter survives in the struggle, but Titanic female figures, gallantly fighting for the former and sadly misrepre-

[1] The Celtic goddess Brigit, referred to in a ninth-century glossary, had all these attributes — *operum atque artificiorum initia* Rhys cites of her. She was also tribal-mother of the Brigantes as well. Later her attributes are transferred to St. Bridget.

[2] To trace the tribal origin back to a goddess was a very common Aryan custom, *e.g.* Venus as *Genetrix Aeneadum*, tribal-mother of the Romans.

[3] I suspect a goddess, *Ana-le* the "little mother," at the bottom of the *Anaiungs*. *Uote* was tribal-mother of the Burgundians, and the goddess *Bil* of the Billings, etc.

sented by the bards and chroniclers of patriarchal days, loom in shadowy greatness out of the pre-history of every Aryan race.

If we turn to the status of men in the kindred marriage group, and wish to measure its significance, we must remember that its evolution is spread over long centuries; and as we near the transition to the patriarchal civilisation, the power and influence of men at first gradually and then rapidly increases. Yet in the full bloom of the group-marriage period, their influence on custom and tradition must have been comparatively small, even death and disease are represented by female deities,—the wind, the sea, the earth, and all the powers of nature are in the earliest folk-tradition goddesses. The gods, so far as they had any existence, appear to have taken the form of temporary human lovers of the goddesses, the transitory male element needful for fertility, but then destined to disappear. Man, ever moulding the divine to his own pattern, creates first the goddess as tribal-mother, later her son as god, and only as his own institutions develop is the wandering lover,[1] the hero, raised to the position and authority of All-father. The male element step by step asserts itself.

If the reader object that this scheme of a primitive mother-age civilisation is far more elaborate than anything the philologists have attempted to spin out of Aryan roots, the answer must be that it is *not* drawn

[1] The uncertain paternity is not always even ascribed to man, but to beast or bird. Compare such primeval forms as Gaea and Uranus, Helja goddess of death (a much older and more widely-spread conception than the Eddic Hel, daughter of Loki), the Celtic Dôn or Dea with her very shadowy hero-husband Beli,—which strike one at once amid the later elements of the patriarchal pantheons.

from such a source. It is reconstructed from the fossils to be found in folklore, in fairy tales, in hero-legend, in primitive law, and in other strata of human pre-history; and it appears to the writer as the one system which makes them self-consistent and intelligible. It is a system which puts a new and thrilling interest into the stories which delighted our childhood, whether they were drawn from Roman history, the Bible, or our beloved Grimm. The problem is not to deduce the mother-age from philology, but to decide whether the results of the latter are really inconsistent with the existence of such a civilisation as I have briefly sketched. What has been indicated, however, as the system deducible from Teutonic fossils receives much confirmation when we study the fossils of oriental mythology and folk-custom. In the East the mother-age civilisation developed into what may be literally termed a matriarchate. There the elaborate religious sexual feasts far excelled their fainter Teutonic parallels. And yet we at once recognise precisely the same institutions as we find portrayed in Teutonic witch-gatherings, and shadowed in the peasant customs and festivals of modern Germany; the same predominance of the female element, the same choral dancing, the same human sacrifice, the same worship of fertility, the same identification of goddess and priestess, and the same sexual cult.[1]

As type of such an Eastern cult, we may briefly refer to the important festival of the Sakäēs, held in Babylon

[1] Organised prostitution is frequently described as a result of the subjection of women, but a study of the folklore of peasant festival and spinning-room, and some acquaintance with the history of religious prostitution would, I think, convince the unprejudiced that it is a strange survival of the mother-age.

in honour of the great goddess Mylitta—essentially a mother-goddess of fertility. The festival lasted for five days from the ninth of July, during which time complete license ruled among the people. The festival was presided over by the richly-clad priestess of the goddess, the Biblical woman in scarlet, "the mistress of witchcrafts," who represented the goddess herself. She sat enthroned on the mound which for the time was the sanctuary of the deity, with the altar with oil and incense before her. To her came the hero-lover represented by a slave, and made homage and worshipped. From her he received the symbols of kingly power, and she raised him to the throne at her side. As her accepted lover and lord of the sex-revels, he remained for the five days during which the law of the goddess prevailed. On the fifth day, the hero-lover is sacrificed on the pyre. The male element had performed its function, and, like Heracles, passed away in fire.[1]

Every stage of this—far less connectedly and less elaborately, it is true—finds its parallel in Teutonic witch-gatherings, and down to the derivation of the kingly power from the woman can be traced in Germanic custom and folklore. Our fossil reconstruction is not peculiar to one narrow field of civilisation; the strongest evidence for it is to be found throughout oriental myth and tradition. I have spent considerable time in describing these phases of mother-age civilisation, because they will be less familiar than the patriarchal to many of my readers; and without

[1] The whole inner meaning of the festival is well illustrated by Bachofen in *Die Sage von Tanaquil*, especially in relation to the mother-age among the Eastern nations.

acquaintance with the chief features of the mother-age, it is impossible to judge the philological evidence in its favour. If the words of sex and relationship will not bear a matriarchal interpretation, then the idea of a Teutonic mother-age must be for ever abandoned.

Part II

GENERAL WORDS FOR SEX AND KINSHIP

Die Menscheit bezahlt jedes neue Gut mit dem Opfer eines frühern.

I SHALL commence with words marking the simplest form of sex-relation. The two most widespread conceptions of sex—conceptions which I have found in very distant and diverse quarters—are associated with two simple household operations. It would not probably be safe to suggest either as really the antecedent notion. The first is the creation of fire, the second the pounding or primitive miller's work with rammer or pestle and mortar.[1] Very possibly both operations are radically identical.

The creation of fire is associated in the savage mind with a process which must have appeared of surpassing mysteriousness. By twirling a stick in a hollow in a block of wood, fire, an absolute new thing was brought into existence. The generation of fire and the generation of life were associated in name together, the origin of life resembled the origin of fire.[2] The word *kindle*

[1] There is an excellent representation of a woman with a primitive mill on a misericord in Beverley Minster: see E. Phipson, *Choir Stalls*, Pl. 95, 1896.

[2] In Sanskrit we have *math*, *manth*, for kindling fire by friction; the word *manth* also means to churn, *manmatha*, love, the god of love, and *pramâtha* is violence, rape.

(Scotch *kendle*), still retains this double meaning, and the notion of heat as a generating power is widespread. Compare, for example, Gothic *Brunsts*, German *Brunst*, with its double use.

(1) The root at the basis of kindle is the one to which I wish first to refer. This root is Sanscrit *gan* or *gen*, Teutonic, *kin* or *kan*. It denotes, perhaps, more frequently *bring forth* than *procreate;* although it would be difficult to assert that one meaning is more primitive than the other. The Sanscrit *ga*, as well as the German *kei* or *kyn*, denote rather birth than procreation, and the same remark applies to Latin *gigno* and Greek γένω; still the latter sense appears to be frequently associated with these words.[1]

Modern German *keimen*, O.H.G. *chînan*, M.H.G. *kînen*, to bud, to burst, to open, expresses the idea. That which opens or buds is the *kone*, O.H.G. *qvinâ*, Goth. *qveins*, O.N. *qvân*, and our English *queen*. The woman is thus named after her function of giving birth, one of the most obvious and primitive distinctions between man and woman. I am inclined, however, to believe that a primitive meaning of *kone* was womb, for I find that so many early words for woman have this double meaning. Thus Latin *cunnus* is used of the womb and of a strumpet, *matrix* of the womb and of a female animal kept for breeding. The Bavarian *lôs* is used in all the senses of both *cunnus* and *matrix*, while *fud* is used for woman and womb. Otfrid uses *einkunne* of the bishop who is to have one wife. The peasants

[1] The word *generation* itself in its varied meanings well illustrates the several notions attached to the root. Compare Greek γενέτωρ, Latin *genitor* for begetter, father.

in the Middle Ages termed the priest's concubines *pfaffenkunnen*, ultimately corrupted into *pfaffenkühe;* the change *kühe*, *kunne* suggests another origin than *cow* for English *kine*, the breeding females. Ayrer, in one of his *Fastnachtspiele*, terms the sexton's daughter, *kirchners künne*, and *kunne* used for womb can hardly be other than a variant of *kone*. We may note also A.S. *haémedrif* glossed *nupta mulier, matrona*, where *rif* is literally womb, and the word *haemed* is glossed *coitus*. Thus the primitive identification of the words for woman and for her organ of sex is very widespread. The *kone* is accordingly the woman in respect of her power of giving birth. Although outside the Scandinavian *kone* is only preserved in Teutonic dialects at the present day in our English *queen* as the head or female ruler on the one hand, and in *quean*, a worthless woman or strumpet[1] (A.S. *hor-cwen*, Shetland, *hure-queyn*) on the other, still these two fossils are in themselves highly suggestive. They mark, in the first place, the predominance of the *kone* in primitive times, and, in the second place, the freedom of her sexual relations. The primitive name for woman has been retained for two senses which specially mark her early status.

The corresponding Greek word is γυνή, but its Latin equivalent has, according to some authorities, only been preserved in the name of the goddess *Venus*. Thus Venus is the woman *par excellence*. To term a goddess simply "The Woman" is a peculiar feature of mother-age mythology. Thus Sanskrit *gnâ*, Zend *ghena*, is the goddess or divine woman. We may also notice the

[1] *Quenie, quean, queyn*, is still used in a good sense in Scotland.

Greek κόρη, the Maid, as a name for Persephoné, and the Norse *Fruâ*, the *Frau par excellence*. Similar instances can be readily collected from Teutonic and Celtic sources, and they may, indeed, be paralleled by the use of the expression, the Virgin, for the mediæval goddess Mary. The senses woman, tribal-mother, queen, priestess, goddess, are all closely correlated in these primitive words, and we see one almost growing out of the other. Venus as the Latin form of γυνή is strengthened by the Latin *venter*, the womb, corresponding to a primitive Greek form, γέντερ, which actually occurs for γαστήρ, the belly or womb. The like addition of a dental brings us from the root *kŷn* to a common Teutonic (German, Norse, and English) term for the female organ of sex.

Passing now to what is brought forth, we have a long series of Aryan words marking the relationship of the womb, and many of the greatest interest. Thus we have Greek γένος, Latin *genus*, Teutonic *chint*, *chnuat*, *kint*, *kind* and *kin*,[1] while *knabe*, *knecht*, and *knight* are probably also associated therewith. Anglo-Saxon gives us

[1] I may specially note the phrase *kith and kin*. It might be supposed that *kith* was mere repetition of *kin*. But I think the phrase has a deeper meaning. Gothic, *qithus*, O.H.G. *quiti*, *quid*, A.S. *cvithe*, O.N. *qvidr*, denote the female sex-organ and the womb; Scotch *kyte*, the belly, and possibly *kittie*, a strumpet, may be cited. Gothic *qithuhafi*, means pregnant. Thus *kith and kin* literally denotes the womb and its fruit, the *kone* and the *kunni*, the woman and her offspring, *i.e.* the whole tribe. O.H.G. *Cutti* a flock as of sheep, stands to kith much as kin to *kunne*, probably it originally only denoted the product of the *quiti*. In the same sense are to be noted O.H.G. *chizi* or *kida*, O.E. *kith*, English *kid*, and Bavarian *kitze*, female goat, standing in close relation to *quiti* and *kith*. Possibly Gothic *gaits*, O.H.G. *gaiz*, O.N. *geit*, A.S. *gát*, Eng. *goat*, may have relation to *gat* (see later) as *kid* to *qithus*. A quite parallel word is A.S. *team* for family, offspring, preserved in our English *team*, formerly of progeny, now chiefly of horses. A.S. *tymen*, *teman*, Eng. *teem*, is to bring forth, to be stocked or charged. O. Fries. *tâm*, O.H.G. *zoum*, German *zaun*, is a staked row, stockade, or fence. O.H.G. *zeman*, is to congregate, probably with the same sexual notion as in gather and *gat*, treated of below.

cneos and *cyn*, *gecynd* (race, or generation), with the noteworthy compounds, *Gecynde-lim*, womb, or lit. kin-limb; *cyne-hlaford*, prince, but originally without doubt the kin-chief or elected leader of the group, the prototype of the tribal-father; *cyne-lond*, *cynerice*, *cynepeod*, kingdom, but literally the kin-land, the common property of the kin-group, which only later passed from the kin to the king. O.H.G. gives us *kunni* for kin, and O.N. *kundr* for son and *kund* for daughter (see p. 118 ftn.) *Konemâc* is one of the earliest words for blood relationship, but this is primitively a relationship of the womb, and kin and kinship are given by *kunnischaft*, *kunniling* (neighbour), and *kunnizala*—all marking the woman as the first idea of any relationship at all. In a sentence, the woman, in virtue of her womb-right, is head of the kin, the *queen* or chief of the household—a position of power, blood-relation, and sex well illustrated in the use of the word queen in queen-bee. If we try to find a male correlative to *kone*, we are thrown back on *kone-man*, *kon-ing*, *köning*, *kun-ing*, *könig*, and *king*. The words convey no marital relation to the *kone*, no sense of authority or power (not the "can-man" of Carlyle!), but simply the conception of one belonging or attached to the *kone*. The derivation of *king*, *könig* is sometimes asserted to be the man of kin or race. I would draw attention to the Norse *kone* (O.N. *qvon* and *qvân*) woman, and O.N. *konr*, chief, king, relative, which occurs as well as the more familiar forms *konungr*, *kôngr*, king. The O.H.G. spelling is *kuning* or *chuninck*, as a rule, and of *kone*, generally *quena*, but *chone*, *chena*, both occur. M.H.G. gives us *kon* and *kone* for woman, wife, and generally *künig*

for king, but also *koning* and *konig*. The form *kunne*, as in *einkunne* and *pfaffenkunne*, is to be noticed. Even if *könig* is to be deduced from *kunni*, and not directly from *kone*, it must be noted that the king is king in virtue of his being the son of the queen, *i.e.* one of the kin, and not because he is a 'man of race' or of noble descent. The identity, indeed, of *kunne*, the womb, and *kunni*, kin, is illustrated by Arabic *baṭn* for belly and kin, and *reḥem* for womb and kin. The affix *-ing* in a variety of O.H.G. words usually marks "the *son* of." Thus we have in the primitive idea of king in all probability only the idea of the offspring of the *kone*. The *kuning* derives his rights from the *kone*, the king is evolved from the leader in war—the *cyne-hlaford*—of the old kindred group. Only the patriarchal age could unconsciously produce the *kon-ing-inne*, *kueniginne*, *königin* as a correlative to the *könig*. In England our retention of the word queen has saved us from this. Thus our first series of words depending on the root *kŷn* or *gan*[1] has led us to the conception of the womb as the primitive source of relationship, to the woman as queen and head of the kin, and to the kingship as derived from the queen. The reader who will ponder over this, will understand why kings are so plentiful in fairy-tales, and why the normal road to a kingdom is to marry a king's *daughter*.

[1] Some philologists have connected this root with Sanskrit *gnu*, Latin *genu*, A.S. *cneó*, English, *knee*, and so with a root meaning *kneel*. Compare Latin *uitor*, which marks either kneeling or bearing. If this were true, it would denote that the primitive Aryan woman knelt in giving birth. This posture seems far from universal among savage women, and if it were, the act of giving birth would probably receive a name as early as that of kneeling, and there would be no more reason to derive the former from the later than *vice versâ*.

As we shall see later, the idea of kinship is accompanied by the idea of the wonted, the usual, the *known*. Thus ἔθος, usage, and ἔθνος, a relation, caste, tribe, are not accidentally co-radicate; Sanskrit *svatu* a kinsman, and Germanic *situ*, *sitte*, are both connected with the Aryan root *svedhô*, the usual, the known. Hence it comes about that the root *gen*, *kŷn* also signifies to *know*, even as in Genesis iv. 1—"And Adam knew Eve his wife"; we see the double sense, which belongs also to Latin *cognosco*, Greek γιγνώσκω. Nor are other illustrations far to seek; A.S. *knôsi*, kindred, may be compared with know itself; Greek γνωτός is a friend, kinsman, brother, and the *known*; Sanskrit *gnâtí* is relative, but *gnâtá*, recognition, perception. Thus from the familiarity of the kin arose the conception of the wonted, the known,[1] and this was the basis of Gothic *kunsþs*, the known (*kuni*, kindred), and so ultimately of modern German *kunst*, art.

(2) The next word which I believe to be associated with the kindle notion is *braut*, *bride*. Deecke connects it with a supposed Sanskrit root, *b'rud*, to veil. There is no known instance of this root occurring, and I believe that the notion of veiling has arisen from an attempt to make the idea in *bride* correspond with that in the Latin *nubere*. There is no Teutonic parallel to this supposed root meaning veil, and I am inclined to doubt whether in the earliest Aryan period there would be enough clothing to spare for the luxury of veils. Grimm and Bopp connect *braut* with Sanskrit *praudha*, a past participle of *pravah*, to lead away. Thus the

[1] Compare Swabian *kunt*, *kund* for lover and *kundeln* for *liebeshandeln*; *das kunta* stands for the cattle.

bride is the one led away, *i.e.* to the house of the bridegroom. Here, again, the patriarchal notion of early society is at the bottom of the interpretation, and we reach our conception of primitive Teutonic society by working in a circle. Why, too, should we go to a Sanskrit root, with apparently *no* Teutonic parallel, to explain a purely Teutonic word? In Gothic the word is *brupś*, A.S. *brîd*, O.H.G. *prût*, M.H.G. *brût*, and in modern Norwegian Landsmaal, *brur*, in which it is to be noted the characteristic dental does not appear (compare also the Plattdeutsch *brümen* for bridegroom). In O.H.G. the meaning of the word was rather wide, thus, young wife, bride (before loss of virginity), daughter-in-law, *geliebte*, concubine, and occasionally for any young girl. *Phaffenbrût* is a priest's concubine; *wânbrut*, a woman mistaken for a virgin; *windesprût*, the whirlwind, looked upon as a goddess; *brûtsunu* is ninth-century German for Christ, the Virgin's son. On the whole, the evidence seems to point to the initial sense as that of a young woman, who may or may not have borne children.

It seems to me that Fick has come nearer to the mark than the above authorities in connecting *bride* with the root of the Greek βρύω, to be full, or bursting; M.H.G. *briezen*, *brôz*, swell, bud. He mentions *Fruti* as a name for Venus, and I suppose we may add Latin *frutex*, that which bursts out or sprouts, a shrub. The root of *braut* would thus be the same as that of O.H.G. *prûten* and English *breed*; the outcome of the *bruotan*, *brûten*, is the *brood*, A.S. *brod*. In M.H.G. *briuten* and *briute* are the verb and noun for the sexual act. In modern Low German a term of vulgar abuse is

brühen, *bruen*, *brüden*, which again connects the brewing and breeding ideas, *e.g. Gehey dich nur hin und brühe deine Mutter!* Or again, *Lat mi ungebrüt!* This is close, I think, to the real root of *braut*. In M.H.G. we find:

> Gezieret und gekleidet wol,
> Als man ze *briuten* tuon sol,
> Minnedurst.—Von der Hagen, *Abenteuer*, iii. 99.

That is, "to come well bedecked as befits a wedding."

A.S. *brittan* denotes pounding, bruising; while *braedan* is either to breed or to warm. O.H.G. *bruotan* has the same two meanings (cf. Latin *fovere* and *fovea*, to warm and the womb). A.S. *brid*, English *bird*, is the thing bred, warmed, or hatched. Thus the ultimate notion is again that of the fire-sticks, or of kindling. Graff connects *bruotan* with a root *bar*, Sanskrit *bhr*, *bhar*, Greek φερ, and Latin *fer*,[1] as in *fertile*. From this very root he also deduces *bhrâtr*, *frater*, *bruoder*, *bruder*, and *brother*.[2] So that the fundamental conception of brother would be the one who causes to bear, the male as breeder. The notion in *brut* of breed, incubate, leads to the word having a variety of uses. It is *progenies*, *fetus*, but is also used of either breeding male or female, as in *brutbiene*, for drone, and *brut-henne*, for brood-hen. The peasant in *Ein Vasnachtspil vom Dreck* terms himself *ein pruoter*, a brooder or

[1] Possibly the notion also in Latin *vertrum* : *fertrum*.

[2] I do not think the notion of brother, as parents' son, existed before the Aryan scatter. The Greeks use ἀδελφός, the co-uterine one, and, like *frater* in Latin, this term is used for sister's children, and indeed for kinsmen by the womb in general. φράτηρ has a far wider significance than sons of the same parents.

breeder, rhyming it with *muter*. The Slavonic *brati*, Old Irish *brith*, for birth, may also be noted. I take it that the Aryan roots *bhara*, bear, carry, and *bhero*, bear, are ultimately the same. From the former we have Sanskrit *bhartrî*, mother, child-bearer, and also *bhártar*, master, spouse, to be compared with Latin *fertor*; from the latter *brati*, *brith*, and *birth*. Even with the same notion I should ultimately connect *brheya*, rub, pound, as in Latin *friare*, A.S. *briv*, O.H.G. *brio*, modern German *brei*, the fundamental notion in all cases being the result of the primitive mill, the pounding and the swelling or fermenting of the bruised grain under the influence of water, the brewing. I take it, accordingly, that there is no *ultimate* radical difference between Sanskrit *bhartar*, spouse, and *bhrâtar*, brother, between Latin *fertor* and *frater*, or indeed between English *breeder* and *brother*.

If we find in both *bride* and *brother* the same notion of kindle and breed, we are led back to these words (Landsmaal, *brur* and *brurer*) as correlatives, and we see that so far from brother originally connoting the legal protector of the sister, he is in reality her spouse. We are brought indeed back to that primitive social system—so amply evidenced by archaic mythology—in which brother-sister or kin-group marriage was the normal relationship.

This view is to a great extent confirmed by the fact that the words for both brother and sister are in early use, and also in modern dialects, used indifferently for both sexes. Thus *schwester*, *sister*, does not seem in any way correlated to *bruder*, *brother*. *Geswëster*,

geswester, *søskende*, *systkin*, are those who are *suâs* together—that is, familiar or *heimlich* together, and much in the same sense originally as to become *heimlich* is to pair.[1] *Swâsman* is O.S. for brother, *swâseline* Middle Dutch for relative, and *swâsenede* for female friend; *beswâs* is M.L.G. for related, and *swesbedde* Friesian for incest. Similarly, we may find the same primitive idea involving both sexes in *bar*. Sanscrit *b'artar* is spouse and nourisher, *b'ratarâu* denotes brother and sister, brethren of both sexes. Greek *φράτρα*, kinship, marks closely the old kin-group, but also a common meal, a *συσσίτιον*: and I believe that the annual festival of the Apaturia,[2] or gathering of the clan, preceded immediately by the Chalceia or feast of the goddess Athene, was a fossil of the old kin sex-festival and the worship of the goddess of fertility.[3] Doubtless it was primitively associated with the same intermingling of kin. Indeed, the root of brother and bride carries us back to the stage of civilisation which left its fossils in Iris, sister and wife of Osiris; Freya, sister and wife

[1] Compare the Latin *suco* to be accustomed, to be wont, and the sexual meaning of *consuesco* and *consuetio*. Bopp would deduce *sister*, *svasr*, from *sva*, own, private, and *stár* = *strí* = woman. This *strí* he takes to be a degenerate form of *sûtrí* and *sûtar*, from *sû*, to bring forth, bear, so that *sister* would stand for *sva-sûtar*, a man's own or special child-bearer.

[2] There was an enrolling of the new members of the *φράτρα*—I expect originally a *matriculation* (see footnote, p. 203)—there was a torch procession and a meeting for judicial business—in fact, all the features, as we shall find later, of the typical sex-festival.

[3] The record of virgin goddesses is much like that of many early female saints, the farther we carry it back the more the ascetic character disappears; they become agamic rather than virgin. It was a later age which laid patriarchal stress on virginity, and converted the original pangamic character of these goddesses, exemplified in the doings of Demeter, into the virgin strength of Athene or Artemis. The original type is the mother-goddess of fertility, modelled on the agamic, but certainly not virgin, woman of the mother-age.

of Freyr; Demeter and Hera, sisters and intimates of Zeus—in fact, it brings us face to face with shadows of what were once typical goddesses of the mother-age.

(3) The second idea of the sexual relationship to which we now pass is associated more directly with the very primitive custom of pounding food in the primitive mill—a pestle and mortar. Even here the idea appears not to be unassociated with the rubbing or bruising idea involved in kindling with fire-sticks. The bald sexual notion occurs in *trudere*, in the term *ram* for male sheep and in Swabian *rammeln*. The root, however, to which I would draw special attention is the Teutonic *hî*, *hij*, *hiw*, or, with a guttural attached, *hijg* and *heg*. Other Aryan forms of this word are Sanskrit *ski*, *ksi*, thus *ks'is* is a dwelling, *k'sitis* is a house, and the place of residence *ksâ*. The root *ksi'* denotes to hew, thrust, delve, ram, and so is applied to any agricultural operation. To break up the land is, however, to take possession of it, and so the root rapidly takes the significance of owning and ruling. The cognate Latin is *civis*, a citizen, and all the words involving city and civil must be traced back to the same origin. The *civis* was, there is small doubt, originally a member of the primitive kin-group or *civitas*, from which all social or civil rights arose. Taking *ram* as the primitive meaning of *hî*, we have it primitively used (i.) for words of sex, (ii.) for tilling the land, (iii.) for driving in stakes, and so founding a dwelling. These three meanings, even in early Teutonic words, pass one into the other and stand as synonyms. The goddess of love, or, perhaps better, of fecundity, is the goddess of agriculture and also of the hearth. The

tilth is used as symbol of sexual reproduction,[1] and to found a home becomes equivalent to marrying. No root, indeed, furnishes us with so many fossils of primitive Teutonic society as *hî* or *heg*.[2]

In Gothic the root only appears as *heivan* or *haiv* in the compound *heivafrauja*, the *hausherr*, or master of the home, but in Anglo-Saxon and German the cognate words are very numerous. In mentioning some of them I should ask the reader to bear in mind the triple significance of the root, and further the picture I have sketched of the primitive group, and its gradual transition from kindred marriage to patriarchal customs with the assumption of supreme power by the tribal chief; this assumption ultimately denoting the subjection of the females and younger males of the group. We have to watch the root passing from a purely sexual use to that connoting permanent family relations.

First in German. In O.H.G. *hijan* denotes rather *coire* than *nubere*, and this sense is preserved in L.G. *higet uns den hund* as a phrase of coarse abuse. In the seventeenth century *mägdeheyer* was used for seducer, and a good deal of history is conveyed in the colloquial *Lasz mich ungeheit*, "don't bother me," common in several parts of Germany,—a phrase fitting only in *Frauenmund*, and the origin of which is now quite forgotten.[3]

[1] Notice, for example, Greek γύης, ἄρουρα, for arable land, woman, and womb; ἀρόω, plough, beget; ἄλοξ, furrow, womb, wife; and ἄροτος, tillage, the legal term for begetting children in matrimony. See Appendix III.

[2] It is noteworthy that all that Robertson Smith tells us, in *Kinship and Marriage among the Arabians*, of the *Ḥayy*, or kindred group, would apply to the Teutonic *Hiwa*. Even Eve, interpreted as *Ḥawwa*, a mere variation of *Ḥayy*, appears as the great mother, the *kone* at the head of the kin-group.

[3] *Hijgaten* remained later in the original sense in Bavarian dialect, and is glossed *perforare*.

The following are a selection of O.H.G. glosses: *hiwen = coire; hîfuoga* = procuress; *hiwelich* (M.L.G. *hîwelek*, Dutch *huwelijk*) = *coitus, concubitus; kehiginnis lust = delectatio carnis; kehigenden = coeuntes; ungehite = eunuchi; gehiton ze iro tohteron* is the "went in unto their daughters" of the Bible; *hitât = opus gignendi; hiunka = contubernium*, concubinage, or living in a hive, tent, or dwelling together. All these and others denote the purely sexual relationship, without a trace of the later permanent marital and domestic relationship. These words demonstrate, in fact, the promiscuity of the intercourse out of which the family in our modern sense arose.

Turning to another series of O.H.G. meanings we find: *hîgot*, the god of sex; *hîmâchari*, as a gloss to Hymenaeus; *hîsaz*, a plot of ground, originally the site of the hive or old family group; *hîberg*, the hill-top on which the group met for its great sex-festivals, and then *kehiten = conjuges; ze gehienne = uxorem ducere; ungehîwat = innuptus; hîbar, hîbarig = nubilis, reif*, still retained in Dutch *huwbaer*, and *huwen* in the sense of *hîen*. We find *hîwo* and *hîwa* for male and female *conjuges*, spouses; and *thiu hihun* is used in tenth-century German for the bridal folk at the marriage in Canaan. Compare Lett. *sẽwa*, a wife, and Sanskrit *çéva*, intimate. Thus we see the merely sexual meaning of the root extended to more permanent marriage relations. It is then further extended to any members of the household; *hîwa*, at first spouse, becomes female servant, and is to be compared with A.S. *wîfþegn*, who is not only a female servant, but a person of loose habits. In M.H.G. *hîwe, hie* is not only used for a *knecht*, but

for a spouse, or indeed any member of the household; while L.G. *hie*, *hige*, *heie*, *hienman*, *higeman* denote *hausgenoss*, *höriger*, or serf.[1]

Friesian words related to *hî* are *heia*, the whole family group, the household, and then a crowd; *heive*, servant or domestic; *hine*, equivalent to English *hind*; *hyneghe*, family; *hionen*, members of household; *hyske*, for marriage, family, and household. In Anglo-Saxon we have *sinhîv*, a 'hiving' together and hence marriage; *hîvred*, family, but also armed band and meeting of council, a triple meaning quite intelligible if we remember the kin as the primitive unit of domestic, military, and civil organisation. *Hîvraedene* is glossed with *familia* and *domus*. *Hîvredgerîfa*, the reeve of the *hîvred*, is used to gloss the Latin *consul*, and marks the growth of kin-headship into tribal leadership. *Hivscipe* is the family or stock; *hivung*, marriage; *hîva* is glossed *domesticus*; *hiwunga*, the total household; *hiwa*, the family; *hiwan*, *familiares*,—marking the transition of the younger members of the group to the serving class; and *hiwiski* is the house and household. Only one word appears to have survived to modern English from the Anglo-Saxon, but that is perhaps the most interesting fossil of all, namely *hive* from *hiwa*, a family. But how different from the group we term a

[1] We see almost the same series of meanings attaching themselves to words related to *familia*,—sexual relationship, comradeship, domestic service, serfdom. The cognate *faama*, said to be Oscan for house, may be compared with *heim*. Note the Bavarian *êhalt* glossed *legitimus* for *hausgenoss*, servant, *êhaft*, the community, *êhaltin*, wife, *die êhalten*, the family, from *ê*. Almost the same series of meanings attach to Greek κοινός, which is ultimately one of the *hî* series. It marks common property, the community or state, τὸ κοινόν: κοινοί, κοιναί stand for a kindred-group, especially of brothers and sisters; κοινός is also the agreeable, pleasant; κοινόω and κοινωνέω are both used of sexual intercourse; κοίνωμα, κοινωνία are communion, intercourse, community, but especially in the sexual sense.

family now! Still the hive with the tribal mother and its communistic organisation is by no means an inaccurate representation of the old kin-group and the ideas with which *hiwa* was originally associated.[1] A further series of Anglo-Saxon words connected with *hî* are derived from *haémed*. Thus *haeman* is *hiwen*; *haémedding* and *haémed*, *coitio*; and *haémend*, adulterer. Yet just as in O.H.G. *hiwen*, the original notion is extended to permanent relations of sex. *Haémdo* stands for nuptials; *haémedgemana* is *matrimonium*, while *haémedrif* and *haémedceorl* are wife and husband,—meanings very far from the literal senses of these words.

We may pass by a whole series of Scandinavian words, of which Landsmaal *hjon* for spouse and *hjuna*, to pair, are types, to note that *hig* seems to have been used for young of all sorts. Thus A.S. *hig* is young grass. *Hig* seems to be more nearly connected with *higen*, produce, than with A.S. *héawan*, hew, chop. Compare the Latin *fenum*, having the root *fe* of *fecundus* and *fetus*. Thus *hig* as produce of mother-earth is from its sense related to *higen*, as *kin* to *keimen* and *team* to *tyman*. It is probable that *hig*, as produce, is left in A.S. *higo* and *higum* for family and domestics.

The addition of the guttural to the root *hî* gives us *heg*, and *hag*, I believe with the primitive sexual sense of ram; but it is also used of driving in stakes, and so making a fence or hedge. The presence or absence of the guttural

[1] I think Skeat has too hastily disconnected *híre* and *hiw* on account of A.S. *hȳfe*. Notice the L.G. *honerhive* for a hen's brooding place. The same changes occur in A.S. *hise* for *hyse*, a youth, and in *aéfre* for *áwa*, ever. Compare also the use of *plebs* for hive; but the plebs were also the non-patrician masses who knew not their male descent.

does not seem material.[1] Thus O.H.G. *hagjan* appears with variations *haien*, *haijen*, and *haigen* approaching the modern *hegen*, to hedge round, fence in, protect, or cherish. This leads us to the third meaning of the root *hî*. In the Latin of the mediæval law-books *haga*, *haia*, *haio* is *castella*, *villa*, that which was hedged in, the old group-dwelling. A.S. *heos* is house. *Huey* is tramp's slang for a village. Many place-names show *hag* and *hagen*. *Hai*, *gehai* in Bavaria denote a dam or fence of stakes; *hi*, *hie* in Norway denote the winter and breeding quarters of the bears; *der hai* is the watcher, the *Merker* or custodian of the forest under the mark-system. *Hagen*, *gehag*, and *hain*[2] are places planted or palisaded in (*hâg* in Bavaria is now widely used for stall); and from the same idea[3] arises Friesian *ham*, *hem*; English *ham*, *home*; German *heim*, and Gothic *haims*, a village. I take it that the notion of lying is not the primitive sense of *hî*, but the hedged in or fenced lair, which becomes the lying place. Accordingly I should not look to Sanskrit *çi* and Greek κεῖμαι, to lie down, as giving the primitive value. Whether, indeed, we are to consider *haga* and *haia* as arising from two different roots, the one denoting to *fence*, and the other to *lie*, is perhaps not of great importance for our present purpose. What, however, is pretty clear is that the *gehag* was the *heim* of a group with very

[1] Compare A.S. *liegan*, M.E. *liggen*, English *lie*, German *liegen*, and English *lay*. Then A.S. *lagu*, Danish *lov*, and English *law*, etc.

[2] *Hain* is not only the enclosure sacred to a goddess. In *hayngarten gehen*, to make oneself intimate in a sexual sense, we seem to see the sacred yard used as a sexual *rendezvous*, the seat of the sex-festival. See Appendix I.

[3] Other words for home express the same idea. Thus in the *Asegabuch*, *lieldgarda* is used of the family hearth, *garda* being the fenced place, the garden, *i.e.* the *hag* of 'unser Liet.'

unpatriarchal sex notions. The *hag*, *hac*, A.S. *haege*, *haga*; English *haw*, and Scottish *haugh*, a staked inclosure or hedged-in place, gave its name to its occupants. Thus we have the hitherto obscure word *hagestolz*, at present meaning a confirmed old bachelor. Its earlier forms are O.H.G. *hagastalt*, A.S. *hägsteald*, the *stalt* of the *hag*. Its primitive meaning is, I think, clearly indicated by the early glosses *mercenarius*, *famulus*, while in Anglo-Saxon it denotes the man who has not his own household. (Compare the Scotch *hagasted*, of one familiar with a place.) It is precisely equivalent to the *heie* and *hienman*, the member of the hive. *Haistaldi* is glossed *agricolae libri*, and we see in the *hagestalt*, the fighter, the servant, and the agriculturist of the primitive *hag* group. But how came the word to be used for old bachelor? In the Rheinpfalz it had the meaning of childless man, whether married or not; in other parts of Germany it was used for the bastard or fatherless man—both are equally significant indications of the primitive sense. The *haistaldi* were a class who knew not their fathers, and this because the hive had the custom of group-marriage and knew only womb-kinship. As the patriarchate developed, and men began to possess individual children by the capture or purchase of wives—as the patricians became the dominant power,—those men who still lived under the old group-marriage system, and had no special children among the progeny of the *hag*, were looked upon as childless, even as they were held to be fatherless and wifeless from the standpoint of patriarchal man. Thus, as the old kin-group disappeared before the new civilisation, the word *hagestalt*

became unintelligible, the ideas of wifeless, childless, and fatherless vaguely remaining associated with it, and ultimately they crystallised out into the conception of confirmed old bachelor. Celibates are unknown, however, in primitive society. How many 'spinsters' were virgins even in 1200? How many words for celibates (*caelebs*,[1] *virgo*, *spinster*, *bachelor*, *hagestalt*, *παρθένος*, etc.) can be traced to a primitive root bearing the sense of unwed? They are either late introductions, or their first senses are lost in the obscurity of a primitive social order not yet reconstructed by philologists.

If *hagastalt* was the name for the male dweller in the *hag*, we have a still more suggestive one for the female. This is the O.H.G. *hagazusa*, *hagezissa*, contracted to *hâzus* and *hâzusa*, M.H.G. *hagetisse*, A.S. *hägtesse*, *haegesse*, *hägtis*, Swiss *hagsch*, and English *hag*. The *haegesse* is the woman of the *hag*; she is the woman of the old civilisation, the priestess of its faith, and the mistress of its ancient wisdom. Traces of her were found by the early Christian missionaries, and her choral festivals, sex-feasts, and strange sacrifices seemed to them very devilish; but this is a point on which I have enlarged elsewhere.[2] With regard to the derivation suggested for *hexe*, or rather for its earlier forms *hagezissa*, *hagetissa*, I must mention that Weigand first associated it with the root *hag*, and interpreted it to mean woman of the woods. The earlier derivation from O.N. *hag*, A.S. *hög*, skilful, wise, had already been objected to by

[1] *Cae-lebs* is Slavonic *sŭ-logu*, the bed-fellow, the male unit of the old group-marriage, exactly like *hagestalt*!

[2] See Essays X. and XII. The tenth to eleventh century translator of Martinus Capella uses *hazessa* for the women who *eat* by night.

Jakob Grimm, on the ground that an old German equivalent root is entirely wanting, and that the Norse itself makes no noun *hagr* for a wise person.[1] Grimm himself suggests *hagedissa*, a lizard, as a possible connection, because the lizard is a magical animal; but if there be any relation, I should expect it would be of the inverse kind. As to the meaning of the second part of the word, *zussa*, *zissa*, *tisse*, nothing absolutely definite can be stated. There is evidence, however, for a Teutonic goddess, *Zisa* or *Tisa* (J. Grimm, *Mythologie*, i. p. 248), and it is possible that, as in the case of *Fruâ*, we have here only an old word for woman. *Ziss* is still used of a female cat. We may compare it with O.H.G. *Itis* or *Idis* for woman, which J. Grimm (*Grammatik*, i. p. 189) connects with Finnish *isä*, father, Gothic *atta*, father, Finnish *äiti*, mother, and Gothic *aiþei*, mother. The woman of the *hag* would be simply *hagitis*, which agrees well with the Dutch and Saxon forms, if not so well with the O.H.G. *hagazussa*. Curtius connects *idis* with a root *ath* or *anth*, having the meaning of budding or bursting. Hence he derives Greek ἄνθος and ἀνθέω, and probably Ἀθήνη, who would thus be the pregnant one, the mother-goddess of fertility;[2] for the maiden-goddess in her early form was like the primitive types of all virgin-goddesses, only a maid in that she had no definite husband. The same root probably appears in *Uote* and *Ada*, frequent names for the

[1] I should not be surprised if Landsmaal *hag* denoting the fit and convenient, the orderly, be not the primitive sense of *hag* and *hög*. In this case it is parallel with a long series of words to be noted later, which associate comfort and security with kin, and with the kin home, the *hag*.

[2] For the less reputable side of Athene see Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, s. 54.

queen or tribal mother in the heroic age; also in *Edda*, the house-mother, with which M.H.G. *eide*, a mother, may be compared. Wackernagel even suggests a possible relation to Sanskrit *udara* and Latin *uterus*, the womb (*Wörterbuch*, p. 324), so that the value of the root would then carry us back to the *kin* or *gan* conception of woman.

(4) It will be seen that the *hî* or *heg* stratum of fossils has led us to reconstruct a social system very different from the patriarchal, and we can strengthen this conception by two most interesting words which I have reserved to the last. These are O.H.G. *hîleih* and *hîrât*. I have already pointed out the part which the old common meal, the common talk or council, and the choral dance accompanying the sex-festival played in the old group life. Tacitus tells us that the Germans of his day met to take a clan meal, to settle clan business—*i.e.* for the clan council—and to arrange marriages. He also tells us of the dances of the same tribes. He did not grasp the real meaning of this combination of offices; it was merely a reflex of the old group life which I have endeavoured to illustrate to the reader, and which finds strong confirmation in *hîleih* and *hîrât*.

Leich is a choral song, but one which Weinhold tells us was in the oldest German period invariably accompanied by dancing. *Hîleih* is, then, the choral dance which preceded or accompanied the *hijen* or sex-festival. Ulfilas uses *laikan* for the Greek σκιρτάω, which our Bible translators render by 'leap for joy.' In the case of the Prodigal Son, Ulfilas puts *laikins* for χορῶν, a perfect equivalent from the standpoint of the sex-festival.

A.S. *lâc* is *ludus* and *sacrificium*; Old French *lai*, English *lay* may be noted. Old Slavonic *liku*, O.N. *leikr* for game, dance, are also to the point. In Landsmaal *leik* is still a game with rapid motion, a violent dance; *leikvoll* is the dancing place; *leikestova*, a dancing-room; *leikfugl* is a bird at pairing time; and *leike* is used for the gambols of birds at pairing time. But in M.H.G. *hîleih* simply means marriage. Thus a word for patriarchal marriage takes its name from the old group custom. It is reflected in the modern English wedding dance, but much more strongly in the more or less obscene dances occurring among the German peasantry at weddings and at *Kirmes*, May-day, and other periodic festivals.[1] The choral wedding song is found in most Aryan races. We may note the Greek ἐπιθαλάμιος, Swedish *brûdsäng*, O.H.G. *brütisang*, A.S. *brŷdsang* and *brŷdleod*.[2] In this respect also we must compare the *hîleih* with the mysterious *winileod*, the *cantica diabolica*, or ribald songs sung by German maidens at periodical feasts at or even inside the early Christian churches. In the *Fivelingoër Landregt*, an old Friesian law-book of which the existing MS. is early fourteenth-century, we are told that the Friesian bride is to be brought to her bridegroom with *winnasonge*.[3] A more direct link between the patriarchal bridal ceremony and the old group habits it is difficult to imagine. What, however,

[1] I hope later to publish an essay on peasant festivals, and show their relation to the old kin-group customs.

[2] The term *Frauentanz* also deserves notice; it was used by the *Minnesinger*, not for dance, but for a particular form of song, probably originally a choral dance.

[3] Edition Hatterna, p. 44. A translation of the whole passage is given in the Essay on "Woman as Witch," p. 17.

does *wini* denote? *Wini* is a root much like *gimah*, with which I shall deal later. It is glossed *amicus*, *sodalis*, *dilectus*, while *winiâ* is rendered by *dilecta*, *marita*, *conjux*; *winiscaf* is *foedus*, *amor* (Sanskrit *vâma* is dear, precious, health, and wealth). Thus we have the notion of the friend, the table-comrade, the spouse,—in short, the male or female member of the cosexual group. The original kinship of the members is shown in Old Irish *fine*, blood relative. What is *wini* is friendly, winsome, and what is *unwini* is unfriendly; just as what is of the *kin* is *kind*, and what is not of it is *unkind*, or what is of the *hag* is *haglig*, fitting, and *behaglich*, comfortable and pleasant.[1] It is the kin and kin-home as the standard of comfort and right, much as the child's standard to-day is that of home comfort and family habit.[2] To make the *wini* series complete, we may note Fick's supposed cognates: Greek *εἰνή*, a lair, a couch, a bridal bed; O.H.G. *gawona*, dwell, and German *wohnung*, a house; Sk. *vánas*, lust; O.N. *vinna*, German *gewinnen*, English *win*, O.H.G. *wân*, *wonne*, etc.

Nor is it only in the ideas of kindness and comfort that we find the primitively sexual link developing into new social qualities. No root, for example, is originally of more purely sexual weight than Aryan *gan*, Latin *gen*. But besides a whole terminology for begetting, child-bearing, parentage, and kinship, we find

[1] There is a similar idea in the short *hî* form of the root, thus O.N. *hýrr*, soft, gentle; A.S. *heore*, O.H.G. *hiuri*, in the compounds *unhiuri*, M.H.G. *gehiure*, and German *gehcuer* and *ungehcuer*, for the reverse of comfort. Slavonic *po-siru* is benign; Sanskrit *śi* is peace, rest, comfort; Icelandic *hýra*, joyous-looking; while Landsmaal *hýra* and *úhýra* stand for good and bad fortune.

[2] Compare the Greek οἶκος, house, home, family; οἰκειότης, intimacy, marriage; οἰκεῖος, fitting, suitable; and οἰκείωσις, appropriateness, etc.

genialis, nuptial, appertaining to procreation; and then, as a result of the association of this fundamental appetite with pleasure, we have later the significance joyous, delightful, pleasant, and ultimately our own *genial*, with no sexual weight at all! Similarly *genialitas* is primarily the sexual feast, but ultimately it is joviality, *geniality* in its most asexual and purified form, as free from the notion of procreation as *kindliness* is from the primitive sense of *kindle*. Then we have *genius*, originally for sexual appetite and fondness for good living (*i.e.* the group-meal), passing through the stages of taste and genial inclination, wit, and character, to be purified as talent. Nor does the range of ideas springing from *gen* stop here. *Generosus* means originally one of birth, probably of *known* birth, who could be enrolled in the *Fratria*, hence one of good or noble birth, and so to excellency or nobility in the higher sense; it ultimately reaches in *generosity* a social quality free from any sexual atmosphere. Compare O.H.G *côtkunni* for *guotkunni*, glossed *generositas*. Nay, even *nobility* itself carries us back to Latin *nobilis*, or *gnobilis*, the known or familiar, and *gno* is but another form of *gan;* the known or familiar are the cosexual kin-group, the *cognati* and the *cogniti* are ultimately the same people, and *gnosco* stands to *genus* as *kennen* and *kunst* to *kind*, *knabe*, and *kin*.

The limitation of my evidence to word-fossils does not allow me to enter into the great amount of material which folklore provides concerning the old choral sex-dances; they find their prototype, however, among nearly all primitive peoples. One word, however, may be referred to here as an illustration. What is a *comedy?*

I venture to assert that originally the comedy was a *winileod* — a choral dance at a sex-festival, a *hîleih*. It denotes the ode of the κῶμος, but Greek κῶμος signifies a revel, a festal procession. We are told that at these festivals, which took place on fixed days, the party "paraded the streets, crowned, bearing torches, singing, dancing, and playing all kinds of frolics,"—such words stand almost as a translation of the *Landregt* description of how the Friesian bride is to be brought home. In the *Alcestis* of Euripides (ll. 915 *et seq.*) the κῶμος is directly associated with the bridal torches and hymns. The κῶμος songs were of a phallic or ribald character, and the name κῶμος stands not only for the festival, but for the band of revellers,[1] whether male or female—they are the chorus. But it is singular that a cognate word κώμη means village, and the relation is too strong to be passed over. It becomes quite intelligible, however, if we see in the primitive village the *haia* or home of the kin-group, in the κῶμος the hive or band of kin at the sex-festival, and in the comedy the *hîleih* or song of the hive. Even the root of κώμη is closely related to that of *home*, and so to the *hî* series. We may note κείω and κεῖμαι, to lie, κοιμάω, to lie down and also to still, and κοίτη, a lair, nest, couch, and especially the marriage bed. Thus it will be seen that such a refined idea as that of comedy carries us back to primitive civilisation with its kin sex-festivals, and that *hîleih* and comedy are of one and the same origin.[2]

[1] Compare the way in which ἑορτή comes to get used of a feast, the party at the feast, and the place at which the feast is held.

[2] As comedy, so tragedy comes down to us from the old mother-age worship. The dancing round the Κισσός (ivy) at the harvest festival, the choral song of men and women, the collection of money or food for a common meal, are features

If we turn to *hîrât*, we find in it either the council of the *hiwa*, the family group, or the kin-talk which took place at the *hijen* festival. It is not an unnatural evolution that in patriarchal days the arrangement of marriages should have come to take place, as Tacitus tells us, at the kin-meeting, at the meal which in still more primitive times preceded the sex-festival. Another name for the old kin-talk, not, however, used like *heirath* for matrimony, was *hagespraka*. I have found it used for the annual assembly for judicial purposes of the *Markgenossen* — an assembly, be it noted, always accompanied by a convivial meal.[1]

While *hîrât* has come to mean marriage in German, the cognate Anglo-Saxon *hîred* denotes the family and not the marriage. We have, in fact, the tribe-talk or council used on the one hand to denote the sexual relations of the group, and on the other the group itself. *Hiredsmoder* is *materfamilias*, and might, perhaps, be pressed to show the position of the kin or tribe mother in council. On the other hand, *paterfamilias* is rendered by *hiredesealder*, the family alderman, as well as by *hiredesfaeder*, and probably the use indicates a transi-

of folklore from north to south of the Germanic lands. The sacrifice of a real goat, gaily bedecked with flowers and ribbons, occurs in Dauphiné, and here, be it noted, the woman has to hold the goat while it is killed. In Münsterthal on *Fastnacht* the women used to lead round the streets a gaily-bedecked goat, and carried also wine for a feast. No man before nightfall might be seen even at the windows (Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii. s. 184). *Fastnacht* falls generally within the *Weibermonat*. When we notice also the important part played by the goat in the *Hexenmahl* and its ceremonies, we recognise τραγῳδία, 'the goat-song,' to be only a variant of the *hlêiô*.

[1] The association of the *hag* and the *mark* is very close, and I hope to return to it. *Haaggeld* was the fee paid to a lord or chief for protection of a fenced farm, and *haghenne*, a similar tribute, paid, be it observed, on *Walpurgistag*, the day of the old sex-festival.

tion from the tribal chief, or 'alderman of the kin,' to the patriarch. In concluding this part of our subject, I may stay to remark that if we put on one side words for marriage which are of patriarchal manufacture (e.g. *brautkauf*, *ehe* (?), *veddjan*, *wedding*, *conjugium*, *coemptio*, Norse and Anglo-Saxon *gift*, *giftung*, English *spousals*, *giving away*, German *mitgift*, etc.), we find that the remainder are chiefly deduced from the old kindred group customs, thus from the common meal (*vermählung*, *confarreatio*), the choral dance (*hîleih*, *ὑμήν*, *hymen*[1]), and the kin council (*hîrât*). In these customs we find the prototype of most Aryan wedding ceremonies.[2]

(5) We must now pass to a series of roots for kinship, emphasising still more strongly the endogamous character of the primitive kin-group.

The next general root for sex relationship which we will take is *mag* or *mah*, and this is simply the root of our English *make*. I shall give reasons later for supposing the mother to have been looked upon in primitive times as the maker of life,[3] and the mould in which she cast it was the *magen* (A.S. *maga*), the belly or womb. A long series of words marks the relationship of the *magen* or womb, or at any rate denote what is moulded or formed there. *Mâc*, *mâk*, *mâg*, *mâch*, and

[1] *Hymen* is originally nothing more than the hymn or song, the *wînileod*.

[2] I take *contubernium*, *consortium* to be essentially fossils of the mother-age civilisation. γάμος is also interesting; its root, as in γαμέω, may denote mere sexual relations, and it is used itself both for the marriage and the feast before it.

[3] *Kindermachen* = τοκεῦν παῖδα, to bear children, was originally used of the mother in a perfectly refined sense, *e.g.* "in dieser nechst vergangen nacht, hat mich mein mutter erst gemacht." Then later *machen* like τοκεῦν is used of the father. In mediæval German it is used chiefly of the mother for children born out of wedlock—this in itself is suggestive.

mâh are used in O.H.G. for all parallel blood relationship, and stand to *magen* as *kin* to *kone*. The plural *magon* is very early glossed *cognati*, relatives by birth, or from the womb.

In Gothic *magus* is son, child, servant, *mavi* and *magaþs*, maid. *Mêgs* (= *mâga*) is curiously a daughter's husband, quite intelligible if the son be the daughter's husband, as in the kin-group, but otherwise difficult of interpretation. Akin to it is the Swedish *mâgr* for son-in-law. Both are deduced from O.N. *mâgr*, denoting blood relative. O.N. has also *mögr* for boy. In A.S. we have *maeg* for kinsman; *maege* for kinswoman, female cousin; *gemagas*, glossed *consanguinei*, and *maegð* for kinship. *Maegeð* in A.S. is of special interest; we find it denoting maiden, kin, family, tribe, people, province, nation. Thus we see the gradual expansion of the *mâc* with the growth of a patriarchal civilisation. O.F. *mach*, child as in *tha moder and thet mach*, must be compared with *mêch*, *gâmêch*, in the same dialect, for *gaugenossen*, members of the same mark; it is a step in the identification of the primitive mark with a kin-group. O.H.G. gives us *mâcshaft* for kinship; *gemâgeda* for relationship, family; *mâgiu*, relative, cousin—*i.e.* all the children of the kin-group;[1] *magidi* for servants—precisely as *hiwe* is related to the *hiwa* or hive. Finally, we may note M.H.G. *maget*, *magad*, *mait*, German *mädchen*, and English *maid*.

So far we have seen only the origin of a number of kin words in the *magen*, or *make*, idea. This is quite parallel to calling the child the *born one*, as in *bairn*

[1] *Magiu* is glossed *cosina*, even in mediæval Bavarian dialect.

and *barn* (Danish *bør*, the womb, and *børn*, children[1]), but there are other ideas in *mâc* which we must now follow up. Besides denoting blood relationship, it denotes sexual relationship. Thus in O.F. *mec* stands for *verlobung*, *meker* for wooer, *mec-bref* for contract of marriage, *metrika* for *verlobte*, which latter may better be compared with Sanskrit *mâtrkà* for mother, nurse, and womb. In A.S. *maca* is glossed *par*, *socius*, *consors*, *conjux*, and in O.N. *maki* is glossed *par*, *aequalis*, *conjux*. Swedish gives us *make*, a mate or equal, *maka*, a spouse, mate; O.D. *maet*, and Eng. *mate*, all closely related to A.S. *maegeð*, and even English *maid*. In other words, terms which denote collateral kinship are identified with sexual comradeship. They are, in fact, excellently glossed by the Latin *consors*, which, I take it, was itself a term for the group consort. These are evidently fossils of the most suggestive kind, for they carry us back to kin-marriage, at least cousin-marriage, if not brother-sister marriage. The A.S. *maeghaemed*, the *heirath* of the *mâc*, was probably in olden times no term of reproach. Endogamy was part of the *maeg* or might, the strength of the family. The bond of kin was the source of power and strength. The whole *mâc* would have been as wroth as many a Tyrolese village still would be at a maiden who exhibited exogamous tendencies. She would have been doing what, in that stage of civilisation, was antisocial or immoral.[2]

[1] Compare Friesian *ben* and *bern* for child, *berninghe* for blood relationship, and *benenaburch*, the bairn's home, as a name for the womb.

[2] The following extract from an evening paper shows the same primitive social feeling in Hungary. The outburst occurred at Borsad, a village near Kaschau :—

The extension of the term *mage* beyond the fruit of a single womb is evidenced in the following passages from early German law-books :—

Dit is de irste sibbe tale, di man to magen rekenet, bruder kindere unde suster kindere.—*Sachsenspiegel.*

"This is the first grade of kinship which is reckoned as *mage*, namely, brothers' children and sisters' children."

Vnd heizent die chint geswistrige vnt hebent die ersten sippe zal die man zemagen rechent.—*Schwabenspiegel.*

"And the children are termed *geswistrige*, and have the first grade of kinship which is reckoned as *mage*."

The second of these terms the *mage*, brethren, and the first identifies brothers' and sisters' children as *mage* or brethren. The two conceptions would practically be the same if the word *mage* originated in a kin-group with very little or no individualising of fathers or mothers. Thus in the *Heimdallar Galdr*, a charm in

A girl, who is a native of the village, was married to a peasant from another village, but after the wedding a number of the young men of Borsad tried to prevent her from departing to her new home. The bride managed to escape, but, on seeing this, the young men set fire to the cottage of her parents, and the flames quickly spread to other cottages. A murderous fight then began between these young ruffians and the bride's friends, with the result that eight peasants were killed, and about twenty of both sexes injured. The arrival of a detachment of gendarmes put an end to the affray, and the ringleaders were marched off to prison.

On another occasion (1886) we read :—

The village of Ladis, in the Tyrol, has for generations observed the rule that its maidens must not take husbands outside their own village. Lately, however, Catherine Schranz, reckoned the most beautiful girl of the whole district, accepted the proposal of a suitor from a distant place. The youths of Ladis resented this as a personal injury. Six of them seized her, tied her on a manure cart, and led her through the village, the other youths and boys jeering and singing derisive chants. At length her father rescued her, and took proceedings against her assailants, who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from four weeks to two months.

Neither gendarmes nor editors realised the value of these fossils of primitive civilisation.

the *Edda*, Heimdall says: "I am nine mothers' child, I am nine sisters' son";—a passage which has much troubled the commentators,[1] but which is more intelligible from the standpoint of group-marriage.

In later German the origin of *mâc* is quite obscured. With the growth of patriarchal notions, terms like *kunkelmâc*, *spindelmâc*, *muotermâc*, were used to distinguish relatives on the mother's side from the *vatermâc*, *germâc*, *swertmâc*, relatives on the father's side. A.S. *fæderencyn*, *fæderingmag*, for father's relatives may be compared. In reality the words are the misnomers of an age which also produced *kueniginne*.

The sexual side of the word *mâc* is found in *magan*, which occurs in mediæval dialect, and Swabian *mögen*, *müigen*, all meaning to procreate. Further in *gemaht*, *gemahti*, for the male as well as female sex-organs, and in modern German *gemächte* for those of the male.[2] Grimm sees in the latter word a modern evaluation with the sense of power; but the A.S. *gemaecnes*, glossed *cohabitatio*, is against this, and I am inclined to think the notion of power in *mâc* may be largely derived from kin as a source of strength, a widespread primitive experience. The procreated are the *mâc* or the *gimageda*. It is to the last word we will now turn for further light on the kin-group life.

Gamahhida is glossed *conjunctio*, *sodalitas*, *affinitas*, *congregatio*, *consortium foedus*, *cohibentia*, *conviventia*. In other words, a union or gathering together for con-

[1] One of the latest, Prof. Rhys, finds in Heimdall a solar or light myth, and in his nine mothers evidence of a nonary week! See similar cases of many mothers' children cited on pp. 203, 235.

[2] *Machen* is still used for any natural office in Swiss and other dialects.

vivial purposes of those forming a community.[1] It represents the kin living in common, having common property, a common house and meals. It is the primitive Roman or Iroquois gens. But the glosses on *gamahhida* do not stop at kinship; we find also *contubernium*, *copula*, *connubium*, *cubile carnalium*, *commercium*. Thus the word denotes sexual union of all kinds. It is the free sexual intercourse between the *mâc* which goes to form the full conception of *gamahhida*. This word, like the Latin *cohabitatio*, denotes not only a living together, but as a sexual union it marks the *collegia et connubium cognatorum*, the communistic and endogamous character of the *magenschaft*.

While *gamahhida* represents the group, the individual members were the *gimahide*, *gimachide*, words glossed by *conjux*, *conjugi*, *i.e.* spouses, *gimahido* is rendered by *par*, *gamahcho* by *socius*, *gamahho* by *conjux*, *uxor;* all indicating equal comradeship and, at the same time, sex-relationship. Further, the adverbs *gamahho*, *gimacho* are rendered by Latin glosses signifying 'in common,' commodiously, kindly, fitly, opportunely, and the noun *gimahi* has glosses *affinitas*, *opportunitas*. We have in these words the whole strength of the *gamahhida* brought out. A kin-marriage group with all property in common, living in common, naturally termed what belonged to the group, easy of access, fit, and convenient, *gemahlîh* (or as it is glossed *connixe*, "leaning on one another"). What was not of the group was *ungamahlîh*,

[1] It should be noticed how the conception of *living together* has led to the idea of partaking in feasts together, sharing in festivals, *e.g.* the Latin *convivor* and *convivium*.

inopportune, hostile, unfitting, evil,—the glosses are *onerosus*, *injuriosus*, *improbus*, *malus*. In a word, we have another instance of the kin origin of terms marking comfort, fitness, and goodness, such as we have already noted in *kind* and *behaglich*.

A shorter form of the adjective is A.S. *gamah*, *gemaca*; it expresses the same idea and is glossed in the same way *idoneus*, *habilis*, *sodalis*, *communis*. *Kamah sin* denotes to be bound together, *foederentur*. From this comes a noun *gimah*, *gimacha* originally standing like *gamahhida* for the entire group or gens, but very early appropriated to its dwelling-place. It ultimately denotes a house, or even a collection of houses. Thus we frequently find it in the Tyrol for village names (*Obergemach*), and for villagers' names (*Gemach'l*). It is exactly the same transition as in *haia*, which is first the hive group and then the hive home.

To connect *gemach*, the home of the *gamahhida*, with the *haia* or *haga* of the *hiwun* we have the term *gemachzaun*, a word used in Bavaria for one of the three customary modes of fencing or hedging, to which certain privileges attached. A somewhat similar term is the *gemachmühl* of the Salzburg district,—a mill built by a small group of peasants, probably originally forming a *markgenossenschaft*, to supply their own needs.

How little does the modern German, *gemächlich* in his *gemach*, realise the anthropological value of these terms! Their picture of the old kinship with their group-marriage, happy in their common dwelling, is not even a dream to him. The idea of pleasure, of what is fitting and good, attached to the word *gimahlth*

shows us that our old Teuton ancestors considered such communistic, cosexual life as both moral and advantageous. It was, indeed, a necessary stage of evolution, it led to the foundation of a wider conception of kin, to the tribe, and ultimately to the state.[1]

(6) The next word to which I would draw the reader's attention is associated with a rather different phase of kin-group life. I refer to the term *mahal* or *mâl*. One of the earliest meanings which we find attached is that of the periodic meeting, or judicial assembly of the *markgenossenschaft*. This took place at the *mahalstat*, the *mahalbrunnen* or the *mahalberg*, on the *mahaltag*. At such places, where the *mahal* was held, there was usually a *mahalstein* or altar, and were we now occupied with folklore and not philology it would be easy to bring evidence of human sacrifices to a goddess of fertility at the *mahalstein*. The corresponding verb *mahaljan* denotes a speaking together; the *mahal* being the basis of a folk-assembly. Thus far everything might seem straightforward with regard to this word — the old tribal parliament, the *markgenossenschaft*, meeting by sacred well or on sacred hill. But we find attached to the word a totally different set of meanings. *Mahal* is also a marriage: *mahaltag* is glossed *dies sponsionis*, *mahaljan*, *mâlen*, is to take to wife, and *mâlscaz* is the bridal treasure, the *brautschatz*; *mahelkôsen* is to fondle. In German *vermählung*, *vermählen* and *gemahl*, *gemahlin*

[1] Kinship is the basis of all civilisation, but the origin of the herd or horde, whether of animals or man, required a wider sexual relationship than monogamic marriage. The herd once established as a variation, its fitness for the extra-group struggle enabled it to be independent of its primitive sexual basis.

(O. Swedish *mäla* and *gamahalus* are *vermählung* and *gemahl*), denote the whole round of marriage relations.[1] Can this be merely a figurative use of the idea of talking together for the marriage relation,[2] or does the notion arise from something which happened at the old *mahal*, or tribal gathering? But, searching still further, we find the word *mâl* denoting meal, food, which has usually been distinguished from *mâl*, a talk, an assembly. The ultimate identity of the two can scarcely, I think, be disputed, although the origin of *mahl*, a meal, has been ingeniously associated by Skeat and others with the root *ma*, to measure, and so with a measure of time.[3] In this case *mahlzeit* becomes a senseless repetition, and the essential notion of *meal* as a *convivium*, a high feast or banquet, disappears from the origin of the word. Schmeller unconsciously bears evidence for the close relation between *mâl=mahal*, and *mâl=mahl*, when he states that *das mâl* is par excellence the *hochzeitsmâl*[4] among the Bavarian peasantry. The *mâlgeld*, which each peasant has to pay for this common feast, and his present to bride and groom termed *mälet* (the giving is *maelen*), come strikingly close to the *mâlpfenning* which must be paid to the *mahlmann* or judicial official of the *mahal*,

[1] It is a noteworthy fact that in many peasant-festivals, such as the *Kirmes*, which I take to be relics of old heathen sex-festivals (see p. 19), we still find a *Gerichtspiel* or *Amtmannspiel;* a fossil of the old judicial assembly remains in a redemption of mock pledges.

[2] Compare the double use of *intercourse*, *conversation* (in older English, and *conversatio* in Latin), *fenstern* in Swabian, etc. At the *kammafensta* we find both chorus and riddle marked features of the primitive sex-festival.

[3] Primitively a meal is an epoch of time, before time suggests meals.

[4] The original use of *hochzeit*, not for a bridal feast, but for a communal dance-gathering, may be seen preserved in *Aschenputtel*, Grimm's *Märchen*, No. 140.

and we grasp how it is that the *mâlschatz* (which Grimm and others derive from *mahal*) is yet used in the sense of bride-money, or is closely related to the *mälet.* We have on the one hand group-custom reappearing in bridal, on the other hand in judicial ceremonies, both, however, were originally part of one and the same group-gathering. What seems to me, also, quite certain is that in Tyrolese, Carinthian, and Styrian *Weisthümer* and *Taidinge* the word *mâl*, in the sense of a meal, is used back to about 1300, and passes almost insensibly into the meaning of *mahal*, the assembly. That the *mahlmann*, *obman*, or whatever else the presiding officer of the *mahal* is termed, is to be provided with a *gerichtsmahl—ein guetes mall*—is nearly always a special injunction of the *Taidinge;* and traces of the old custom of providing such a meal may be seen in the provision the English sheriff makes for the judges on assize. Even the word *malzeit* is used in a manner which leaves us in doubt whether it refers to the duration of the *mahal*, or to the *gerichtsmahl*,[1] the fact probably being that both were originally identical notions. It is not in the court-poets, the *Minnesinger* of the M.H.G. period, that we must look for the use of *mahl* for meal, but in the peasant judicial proceedings which preserved the traditions of the primitive folk. The *mahal* notion is accordingly seen to embrace a clan-gathering, a feast, and a sexual commingling.[2] I venture to assert that we have again a root representing the old

[1] See Zingerle u. Egger, *Die Tiroler Weisthümer*, iv. Theil, s. 270.

[2] The meal idea in *mahal* shows us the *confarreatio* springing out of the clan *sarsäälung*. The notion is just as much Teutonic as Latin, and folklore shows the looseness of the relationship from which monogamic marriage arose. Thus in Zürich the bridal pair had to use one spoon, so that there might be a genuine

group habits. The Germans meet, Tacitus tells us, to feast, talk over tribal matters, and arrange marriages. Now all these diverse meanings become clear in the light of the *hag* community,—the *mâlberg* is the *hîberg*, the *mâlstat*,[1] the *hîstat*. O.H.G. *mahal*, M.H.G. *mâl*, O.S. *maal*, O.N. *mâl*, A.S. *mael*, covering the notions of gathering, talk, marriage become intelligible. The *hegemâl*, *gehegtes gericht*, the judgment-place fenced in, the mediæval custom of fencing or "hedging" a *gericht* before holding it become clearer. It is a symbolic reproduction of the old kin-dwelling, where the *maeg-gemot* was held to settle the *maeglag*. We see in the *mahal* only another form of the *hîrât*. It is noteworthy that *mal* is a boundary as well as an assembly in much the same manner as *mark* is a boundary and a group. We may indeed ask what is the primitive meaning to be attached to the root in *mahal*, or *mael*. The related Aryan tongues, according to Deecke, who does not go beyond the 'talk' conception, offer no parallels to the Teutonic dialects, and Grimm has no suggestion to make as to *mahal*, and repudiates any relation to meal. Notwithstanding this, I venture to think that German *mahlen*, to grind, and *mählen*, to promise, are at bottom the same. Thus we may notice the way in which *mahlmann* is used of the officer of the *gericht*, but also *mahlmann* and *mahlleute*

confarreatio. In Esthonia the bridegroom breaks the spoons of his bride and of himself, upon which the house-father unites the pair. In Norway the bride-spoon, often beautifully carved, is a family treasure. To love and to be wanton is termed *löffeln* in Germany, and a weak form of the same idea remains in the phrase to *spoon*, denoting to flirt in English. In England also the bride-knives, bride-cup, and bride-cake have probably all relation to the idea in *confarreatio*.

[1] Significantly in M.H.G. this word stands for site of a dwelling, e.g. *wunnesamy mâlstat*.

of the peasant or group of peasants using a mill. Further *maellen* occurs frequently for *mahlen* in the sense of grind in German dialect. A still stronger link, however, may be found by comparing Ulfilas's renderings of Luke xvii. 35 and Luke iv. 18. In the former passage the Greek has *ἀλήθουσαι*, leading directly to the Latin *molentes*, and Ulfilas has *malandeins* from *malan*. In the latter passage the Greek has *συντετριμμένους*, and the Latin *contritos*. Now both *ἀλέω* and *τρίβω* are to rub, pound, grind, and *συντρίβω* is directly used of rubbing the fire-sticks, or of any motion of a pestle in a mortar.[1] We have thus directly from the Greek a link between the fire-sticks and the primitive mill. Ulfilas, however, renders the Latin *contritos* by *gamalvidans*, giving a verb *malvjan*, to bruise or pound. This stands as close to O.H.G. *gamahaljan* and *mahaljan* as to O.H.G. *malan*.[2] If this hypothesis be correct, the *mal* root in *vermählung* carries us back to precisely the same notion as the *hî* in *heirath*, *i.e.* to the idea of the fire-sticks or of pestle and mortar. In the word *mahal* all the senses are concentrated, it is the common meal, the tribe-talk, and the sex-festival. To fully realise this, we must recollect that the primitive mill with which most food was prepared, not only among the Aryans, but among savages all the world over, is the mortar and pestle;[3] and when it is of

[1] For example, *τρῖψαι* is used by Homer of Odysseus when rubbing the stake round in the socket of the Cyclops' eye. *συντριβῆς* = *cohabitio*.

[2] The form *mâlôn* appears in O.H.G. for *mahalôn*, signifying to bring a judicial process, *i.e.* to summon before the *mahal*.

[3] Compare the Aryan root *ghrendo*, pound, leading to Lett. *grauds* corn, O.N. *grautr*, A.S. *grytt*, O.H.G. *crioz*, German *grütze*, and English *grits*. A study of the American Indians to-day shows the mill still as the chief instrument in the preparation of meals. See the representation referred to in the footnote p. 112.

wood, it is closely allied to the fire generator. That *gamahalo*, glossed *vir*, *sponsus*, should take its origin, like *hîwo*, *sponsus*, in the notion of the primitive mill will not seem so far-fetched, if it be remembered in the first place how widespread is the simile, and in the second place how persistently tradition associates the mill and its occupants with sexual license. In this respect we may note the Latin *contero* and *molo*, the French *moudre*, the German *mahlen*, the Greek μύλλω (with μυλλάς, a wanton woman, μυλλός, the vagina, and μυλλός, a cake given at the Thesmophoria and probably, like the corresponding cakes at the German sex-festivals, of a phallic character), etc.

If we turn for a moment to folklore, we find in Verena, the patron saint of millers,[1] a goddess of fertility worshipped in the neighbourhood of Coblenz and Zurzach. She was a goddess of the usual Anaïtis, Isis, Walpurga, or Demeter type; to her women offer votive tablets for pregnancy and for easy labour. The mill is, indeed, the scene of most mediæval erotic adventures; and whether it be Chaucer or Goethe, or whether it be in Würtemberg, Bavaria, or Scandinavia, the miller's wife is ever the type of wanton, the woman who deceives her husband, and is free to all comers. The names of many mills in Germany still appear to be reminiscences of their old female occupants, and the mill in mediæval times is the birthplace of all famous illegitimate children from Pilate to Karl the Great. The mill-wheel grinds all things out, love and license, and the sacks carry not only wheat, but lovers into the mill. Thus finely :—

[1] See Rochholz, *Drei Gaugöttinnen*, s. 115.

Dört hoch auf jenem berge
da get ein mülerad,
das malet nichts denn liebe
die nacht biss an den tag (*Uhland*, 33),

and more coarsely in the reply of the miller's wife to her husband who knocks for admittance :—

Ich steh fürwahr nicht aufe,
Ich lass dich nicht herein.
Ich habe die Nacht gemalen
Mit sechs schönen jungen Knaben ;
Davon bin ich so müd (*Simrock*, No. 285).

Both *Volkslieder* remind us of the *Grottasongr*, the mill-song of the *Edda*, wherein the mountain giants' brides grind peace and war, bliss and riches, at Frodi's mill. These women are typical of the old mother-age—half-seeresses, half-warriors, Amazonian figures who rule the destinies of men. For long ages the mill was a symbol of woman's civilisation, grinding was woman's work, and so for centuries much of the old *mahal* freedom attached itself to the mill.

Thus from the ideas involved in the root *mâl* and its cognates we have evidence of a striking kind of the old kin-gathering and its common meal—the *concio* of the *mâg*, followed by the *conjunctio* of the *gemahelun*. The group-habits develop in different directions, and are still to be found as fossils in mediæval marriage customs, mediæval legal ceremonies, and in the license of the mediæval *Hexenmahl*.[1]

(7) We have not yet, however, exhausted the

[1] Religious festivals, *e.g.* the *Lugnasad*, and outdoor sports (*e.g.* the "Hollow of the Fair") were associated in early Celtic days with marriages. See Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, pp. 416, 418.

words for kin which seem to mark a prehistoric kindred group-marriage. The next to be considered is the very valuable fossil *gat*. I suspect this to be the same primitive as appears in Greek χαδ. Thus χανδάνω contains initially the notion of holding. χανδός is gaping, wide open; χατέω is to open the mouth wide, and so to crave; probably also κάδος, a jar or vessel, is from the same source. There are two Teutonic forms to be considered.

(i.) *Gat*. This means an opening, a hole. O.H.G. *katero* is glossed *valva, ostium;* O.N. *gad* is a hole. We have also A.S. *geat*, English *gate*, and O.S. *gat*. In M.H.G. *des berges gat* is a hill-cave, *der lewen gat* the lion's den, and Reinke de Vos has his *gat* or burrow. In M.L.G. *gat* or *weidegat* stands for *anus*, and in Norwegian Landsmaal *gat* is a small hollow, and *gate, gato*, or *gatu* stand for button-hole. *Gat* is also used in L.G. for a snake's hole. From these words it is clear that *gat* has the primitive sense of small hole, and is then used for den or lair.[1]

(ii.) *Gadem*. This denotes a shed, house, or room —an extension of the den or lair notion. In O.H.G. *cadum* is glossed *domus, tabernaculum, septum, conclave, i.e.* house, tent, hedged inclosure, closet—a combination, in fact, of *gemach* and *hag*. In A.S. and O.S. the word does not occur; it is Swabian and Tyrolese, but it stretches as far as the Allemani did

[1] Considering the ready interchange of *k* and *g* in O.H.G., I am inclined to think O.H.G. *chezil, kezil*, Gothic *katilo*, O.F. *ketil*, A.S. *catel*, English *kettle*, are directly from *gat* with the diminutive, and not from Latin *catillus*. In this respect we must note Icelandic *kati*, a small vessel or boat, where the double sense of the words *vessel* and *boat* (*e.g.* as in *butter-boat*) repeats itself.

into Switzerland, Elsass, and even faintly to Köln. It is a single inclosed space built of wood, and its nature is well-indicated by a twelfth-century Regensburg MS. which used *gademer* in the sense of *zimmermann* or carpenter. Singularly enough, while no direct evidence is forthcoming of the use of *gat* in the sense of the "bairns' burgh," or for the female organs of sex, *gadem* and *fleischgadem* are in the peasant's *Fastnachtspiele* very frequently used for the latter. Whether we have here traces of an earlier sense of the word, or only 'kennings,' it might be hard to determine.

Whether we give to *gat* or *gadem* the significance of *magen* or *gemach*, we find connected with these words a great variety of terms for kin and kinship. The first word to be noted is O.H.G. *gatalinga*, more frequently written *katilinga*. This word, denoting offspring, appears to be related to *gadem* exactly as *gamahhida* to *gemach*. Whether the *katilinga* are to be considered as the belongings of the same *gat* in the sense of lair, or of the same *katil* in the sense of womb, it would perhaps be impossible to settle. The sexual weight, however, of the root *gat* is very considerable, and may be at once evidenced by such a word as *begatten* and a curious Celtic *gadal* = *libidinosus*.[1] In M.L.G. the word *gaden* takes a purely sexual meaning and is glossed *conjungi, congregari ad generandum;*

[1] Deecke connects with a Sanskrit root *gad*, denoting to hang upon, cling to, a nasal form of which gives *gand'as*, a neighbour, and also relationship. How far this root has a sexual meaning I am unable to say. Skeat gives an Aryan root *ghad*, from which he deduces χαδ, but then *bigitan* and *beget*, not *begatten* and *vergatten* and *gather*. The Teutonic root *gad* is very close, however, to *ghad*, and I am inclined to think that *bigitan* and *bigatten*, to beget and to pair, are ultimately the same.

vorgaden is *vergatten* to pair, and it later takes the meaning of *vermählen*, marry. That this, however, is not its original meaning is well marked by the L.G. *sick in echtschop vorgaddern—i.e.* to pair in a legal manner. The same primitive notion is also borne out by the use of *begatten* in German solely for animals, although *gatte* and *gattin* are used of husband and wife. We find *gatalinga* glossed exactly as *gamahhida*. O.H.G. *gatulina*, A.S. *gaedeling*, are rendered by *comes*, *sodalis*, *consors*, *consanguineus*, while Gothic *gadiliggs* is *consobrinus*, the sister's son. O.S. *gigado*, O.H.G. *gegate* and *gate* is given by *socius*, *aequalis*, *sponsus*, comrade but also spouse. *Katilinga* is also glossed *parentes*. A.S. *gaed* denotes society, fellowship, company, and stands to *gat* as *maege* to *magen*. Now all these terms seem purely idle from the patriarchal standpoint, for the spouse is not the equal or the blood relative. But the kindred group-marriage throws light upon them all. The group of parents are themselves *katilinga*, they are comrades, equals, kin; they form one society, wherein the mother's sister's child is on the same footing as the mother's child.[1] All the *katilinga* are comrades at bed and board. But we have by no means completed the analogies between the *katilinga* and *gamahhida*. As I have already pointed out, the *kin* is the sphere of what is kind, friendly, pleasurable, all beyond is hostile. Accordingly we have *gagat*, convenient; *getelich*, what is fitting, proper; *gedelik*, what is useful; while *gattlich* gets the sense of beautiful, and *getelos* of all that is unfitting and improper.

[1] Compare *συγγένεια*, kinship; *συγγενής*, kinsman, *cousin*, the fitting; *συγγενικός*, the fitting to kin; *συγγίγνομαι*, to be with at bed and board; *συγγένησις* = *vergaderung*.

Fick connects the Teutonic *gad* with a root meaning fit and *good*, and so reaches *good* and *gut*, and Deecke cites *ἀ-γαθός*. I am inclined to think if any such relation is to hold at all—which I doubt—it is of the inverse kind. The origin of the agreeable and fit must, I think, among primitive people always be sought in the notion of sex and of kin.

The habits of the kin-group are represented by a number of words associated with *gat*. In the first place, we have the German *vergaderung*, *gaderung*, and our English *gathering*, a meeting of the kin of the same nature as the *mahal*. This *vergaderung*, *vergatterung*, or, in a corrupt form, *virgatum gehen*, remained as a fossil in the mediæval school *fête*, frequently held on St. Gregory's Day at Nürnberg and elsewhere. The children went into the woods and had a common meal, which was followed by dancing and singing. To give a full account, however, of this fossil *vergaderung* of the sixteenth century would be to desert philological for folklore evidence—a material to which I propose to return later. The *vergaderung* is a sex-festival, another form of the *mahal* and the *hexenmahl*.[1]

The council or tribe-talk aspect of the *mahal* is represented by a number of words connecting the *gat* with the mark system. Thus we have *gadengericht* and *gadenrichter* for the court and judge at Rotweil, and *Kaisersgaden* was used even of the imperial judicial chamber. In O.L.G. we even find *gaderheren* glossed *patres conscripti*. Corresponding to the *hagegeld* and

[1] The relation of the judicial *mahal* to the sex-festival is evidenced in the custom which forced the Zurzach and Oettingen Landvogts to dance under a linden, or in a public place, with a common prostitute before they proceeded to hold their annual courts.

hagehenne we have *gattergeld* and *gatterhenne*, fees paid to the lord or *gatterherr* for the dwelling or land inclosed by a *gatter*, this being a fence, modern German *gitter*. Other forms are L.G. *gadder*, H.G. *gätter* and *getter*. The meaning of *gatter* is quite clear, a staked fence, interwoven like a hurdle. The forms *gataro* and *kataro* occur in O.H.G., and seem to point to the same origin as *gatte* and *katilinga*. I take it that the *gatter* is equivalent to the *hag* and the *gemachzaun*, the fence of the old group *gadem*. Whether its origin is to be sought in the *bringing* or *binding together*, conveyed in the word *gather* or not (the dictionaries are rather at a loss on the point), the *gatter* seems to be related to the *gatilinga* in precisely the same manner as the *hag* to the *hagetissa* and *hagastalt*.[1] This link, however, is by no means necessary in order to bring out the very complete similarity of ideas in the *hîhun*, *gamahhida*, and *katilinga* terminology of the old mother-age conceptions of kin and of kindred marriage.

(8) It may be well to turn aside here from our Teutonic words for kin, and note how generally the notion of a folk-gathering is a union for food, council, song, and sex. Consider the Latin *grex*, a herd, also a troupe, society, band — in short, the hive; *congregatio* is a flocking together, but *congressio* and *congressus*, while denoting friendly intercourse, yet both take the sexual meaning.[2] Taking the equivalent Greek *ἀγείρω*, with the same notion of gather or assemble, we have *ἀγορά* for the assembly or tribe-talk, bringing out the judicial aspect of

[1] The *getling* is identified with *hagestolz* in a Hachberg *Weisthum* of 1341, Grimm i. p. 366.

[2] Compare also O.H.G. *zeman*, A.S. *tymen* = *convenire*, but also to *team*.

the *mahal* or kin-gathering. *ἀγορά*, as an equivalent for speaking or talking, may well be compared with the corresponding Teutonic *mâl* for talk. *ἀγοραία*, as an epithet for Artemis and Athene, marks the primitive origin of these goddesses as goddesses of fertility worshipped at the *mahal* or folk *vergaderung*. It may be noted that the *ἀγορά*, or tribal meeting-place at Sparta, was termed *χορός*, and the notion of chorus is of a body or troupe who dance and sing *within an inclosure*. This inclosure, the *χόρτος*, is also associated with the idea of feeding, *χορτάζω* being to feast, quite as much of men as of animals. The idea of the chorus is well expressed by the dancing within the lists to the erotic song, such as Alcinous's people exhibited before Odysseus. In this respect it is to be noted that no foreigners—*i.e.* originally no doubt none but the kin—were allowed to join the chorus. The picture of youths and maidens dancing in the chorus is repeated twice in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, although the term *χορός* is only used on the second occasion, but the first is peculiarly important for our present purpose. It runs :—

> Also he fashioned therein two fair cities of mortal men. In the one were espousals and marriage feasts, and beneath the blaze of torches they were leading the brides from their chambers through the city, and loud arose the bridal song. And young men were whirling in the dance, and among them flutes and viols sounded high ; and the women standing each at her door were marvelling. But the folk were gathered in the assembly place (*ἀγορῇ*) ; for there a strife was arisen, two men striving about the blood-price of a man slain.[1]

Here, in a highly-developed condition, we have the

[1] *The Iliad of Homer*, translated by Lang, Leaf and Myers, p. 381.

German *mahal*, the tribal judicial assembly going on; but at the same time the *winileod* is heard, the dance and the brands of the free Friesian brides are seen, and *ἀγορά* and *χορός* unite as the *hîrât* and *hîleih* to complete the picture of primitive tribe-talk, feast, and kindred bridal. The association of *χορός* with feast, with religious ceremony, and with the hedged or staked inclosure—its root is the same as in *garth*, *yard*, and *hortus*—are all paralleled in the *κῶμος* and *hag* conceptions, with which I have already dealt. It is further noteworthy that one of the great choral festivals, that of the Lenaea, took place in the month of *Γαμηλιών*, which covered the latter half of January and the first half of February. This month is said to have been so called because it was a fashionable time for weddings, but the name much more probably arose from the old sex-festivals occurring in this period.[1] It may be noted that February in Germany is termed the *Weibermonat*, since "im Februar führen die Frauen das Regiment"; and I am inclined to interpret the O.H.G. name *Hornung* in the same sense, *i.e.* the month of that free intercourse which resulted in the offspring — *hornunge*, children, whom a later age regarded as bastard and illegitimate. The Roman *Lupercalia* held on February 15th was essentially a worship of fertility, and the privileges supposed to be attached to women in our own country during this month—especially on February 14th and 29th—are probably a fossil of the same sex-freedom.[2]

[1] The ancient Irish "annual marriages" were dissolved and new ones entered upon on Walpurgis Day, another great sex-festival.

[2] The mysterious festival in January of the Anglo-Saxons, which Bede terms "*modranicht, id est matrum noctem*," deserves consideration. What also was the

The important part played by women in the Dionysian sex-festival is also to be borne in mind. As in Teutonic lands, so in Greece and Rome we can trace back below a much more elaborate civilisation the simple habits of primitive life, with their evidences of a totally different status for women and a widely diverse sexual system.

The notion that a gathering is at once a tribal council, a choral festival, and a military unit is well illustrated by the O.H.G. glosses *gasamani* for *congregatio*, *gesemine* for *chorus*, *kesemene* for *concilium*, *gesemene* for *coetus*, *phalanx*, and *liutgasameni* for folk-gathering. To these may be added a mysterious *brutsamana* used by Notker for *ecclesia*. But what was a *brutsamana* in pre-Christian times? We seem carried back once more to the choruses of maidens singing the *hîleih* in the early Christian churches.

Another word which may be just noted is *fare*, to go or travel, but this quite early has the meaning of *fare*, to feed. Thus A.S. *gefer*, *gefere* is glossed by *consortium*, a faring together, *gefera* by *socius*, *comes*, *sodalis*, *contubernalis*, *i.e.* a comrade not only on the way, but at table and in the home. *Geferraeden*, literally a talking together of the *gefere*, comes to mean household (*domus*, *familias*), the intercourse of comrades (*societas*, *familiaritas*), the corporate group of the *markgenossenschaft*, but also sex-intimacy, marriage as we find in *contubernium*. The root runs indeed

heathen festival of the *Spurcalia*, which caused February to be called *sporkelmaand*? Was it from the Aryan root *spherag*, swell, burst, giving *sphoragos*, shoots, buds, but with the sense also of any young life as in German *Schössling* for *Schooskind*?

exactly parallel to A.S. *cynraëden* leading to modern *kindred*, and A.S. *hiwraéden* with its modern German equivalent the *heirath*. *Fâra* is Langobard for family, relationship; and we thus see the complete round of the *hiwunga* and *gamahhida* ideas again well illustrated. See also Appendix IV. on *genossenschaft*.

(9) The next word for kinship to be considered is *sîb*. Gothic *sibja*, O.H.G. *sippia*, A.S. *sib*, O.N. *sifjar*, kinship. In O.N. *sifi* is friend and *sift* is kin. A friend can only be one of the kin; and if a person is to be made a friend, he must be made one of the blood or kin by commingling or drinking blood with all or the chief members of the kin.[1] All that are related by birth, *cognatio*, are *sib*. Thus *cognatos* is glossed by *sibbo* and *gisibbe*. *Sif* is the name of Thor's wife, who is a goddess of fertility, of agriculture, and of childbirth—a Scandinavian Ceres. She appears in Anglo-Saxon as *Siba* or *Sieve*, and was probably primitively rather a mother-goddess than a wife-goddess. In the *Edda* a 'kenning' for the Earth itself is *svaeru Sifjar*, which appears to identify *Sif* with *Jörd*, Thor's mother, and not his wife. She has at any rate the characteristics of a goddess of fertility. The Gothic *sifan* is to rejoice, and appears to be related to *sip* as *freuen* to *fri*. Just as notions of comfort and friendly action are associated with the *mâg*, the *kin*, and the *hag*, so we find *sîp* glossed *pax*, *affinitas*, *foedus*.[2] Thus *pax vobiscum* is

[1] The *pobratimstvo* or *bratstvo*, the brotherhood of the Southern Slavs, is one of the most interesting cases. There appears even some evidence that the *bratstvo* was created by a commingling of blood.

[2] In the tenth to eleventh century O.H.G. translation of Martinus Capella *die sippa Jovis* stands for *consortia Jovis*, the company of Jupiter.

rendered by *sibba sî iu* and *vade in pace* by *far in sibbu* in Tatian. We see in these phrases the primitive man going away in safety amid his kin. *Unsippe* is *seditio*, hostility, unfriendliness ; *unsibja* is *iniqua*. *Gasibbo* and *gasibba* are glossed *consanguineus* and *consanguinea*, the male and female blood-relative. In M.L.G. *sibbert* is the blood-relative; A.S. gives as its equivalent *sibling* (Landsmaal *sivjung* and O.N. *sifjungr*), and has also *sibsum* and *ungesibsum* for peaceful and hostile. Gothic *gasibjon* is to pacify, and *unsibis* is one who is an outlaw,—*i.e.* not of the blood bond. The *sipzal* and *siptzal* is the enumeration of the clan, the 'tale' of the relatives. Norse *sift* and *svift* are kin, and I suspect English *sept* for clan is really the same, and not a corruption of *sect* as Skeat supposes. English *gossip*, of course, comes from the same source. I doubt very much whether the *god* in the original *godsib* is to be associated with god,[1] but rather corresponds to the *god* in *goodman*, or *godeman*, with the sense of *paterfamilias*, the head of the *sibbe*. If so, *gossibraede* becomes identical with *cynraede* and *hiwraede* in sense, and our modern *gossip* expresses exactly the primitive intimacy of the kin. So far, with the exception of the idea in *Sif*, the goddess of fertility and of the family, the sexual notion has not been shown to enter into *sib*. But while Norse *sifi* is a friend, *sjafni* is a wooer, a lover, and *sjöfn* is a bride. In Prussia *gesippe* is used of a dissolute and lewd company. This is very probably not a complete degeneration of the *sib* notion, but a retention and an emphasis of the

[1] I shall return later to the primitive value of the *godparents*.

social and sexual freedom of the primitive *sib*. Lithuanian *sébras* is a comrade, and very suggestively Slavonic *sebru* is a peasant, one of the mark group who till common land. We may again connect the idea of 'gather' by referring to the Sanskrit *sabhá*, an assembly, and *sabbya*, one trusted or fit for an assembly (cited by Skeat), and I suspect Persian *sapah*, *sipah*, an army, and *sipáhi*, English *sepoy*, a soldier; thus pointing to the kin as the primitive military unit.

The root of *sip* is somewhat obscure. Deecke would connect it with *si*, Sanskrit *siv*, denoting sew, bind together. It is more likely to be connected with *sip*, to suck, so that the *siblings* would be the sucklings.[1] This is supported by the use of *geseppe*, *gesoppe*, and *gesuppe* in Bohemia for a crowd of small children. Skeat connects both *sip* and *sup* with a root *su*, to express juice, to generate, and so with *son*, *sus*, and *swine*.[2] Whether the suckling notion (*sip*, *süppen*, *sippeln*), or the procreating, generating notion (*su*), be at the basis of *sib*, we find that the notion of kin sexual freedom is not so strong in it as in several other terms for blood relationship. Indeed in Teutonic lands the blood notion gets weakened, and in Landsmaal *syvja seg* is now equivalent to *besvogre sig*, to enter into relationship by marriage—an expression far removed

[1] Note O.N. *seppi* for puppy, Swedish *sif* for bitch, and Persian *sipa* for dog.

[2] He will allow no relationship between *sip*=kin and M.H.G. *sip*=sieve. Yet A.S. *sife*, *sibi*, and O.H.G. *sib*, are strangely close to the kin-words. Skeat says, "A *sieve* is properly for dry articles." This appears to entirely overlook the Danish *sive*, which is used especially of water, but generally of any penetration through fine holes.

indeed from the O.H.G. ninth-century *unsipbi wip*, for the concubine of presbyters and deacons. The *subintroducta*, or concubine, as distinguished from the wife, was in the earliest time essentially the 'strange woman,' the woman not of the kin.

We cannot leave *sib* without turning for a moment to a corresponding Slavonic word *župa*. In Old Prussian we have *supûni*, and in Lithuanian *župone* for the house-mother, the *materfamilias*. *Siponeis* is Gothic for a disciple, probably as *junge* in modern German stands for *puer*, *famulus*, and *discipulus*. The corresponding Latin appears to be *prosapia*, a stock or race. In the Lika district the folk use *župa* for household, or family. It is a subject of congratulation to the head of the house that he has a large *župa*. The primitive use of *župa* appears to be identical with *hiwa* and *sibbe*, but it is used for a village community, for a pasturage,—probably originally the common land of the community—and for a parish, *župnik*, being the parish priest. Just as in A.S. *mægð*, the sense of the word is extended from household to village, to district, and even to county. The head of a *župa* is a *župan*; yet this word, which might be supposed to refer to the *paterfamilias* as *župone* to the *materfamilias*, has been specialised in the sense of the head of the *župa* for military and judicial purposes. We have, in fact, the kin-chief,—the rudimentary *paterfamilias*, never developed into the actual father, but into the *heerführer* and *herzog*, as distinguished from the *husband* or *husmann*. He is like the *cyne-hlaford*, the head of the *kin*, who develops into the king, but not into the husband,

the spouse of the *kone*.[1] This is well illustrated by the fact that the *župan* very early obtained in Croatia the foreign or German name of *knez*, or *könig*. We have, in fact, to do with a kin or clan leader, its official head in administrative, judicial, and military matters. There is evidence to show that he was in early times elected by the *župa*; later the office became hereditary, or the appointment was made by the national king. The *župan* was maintained, partly by a grant of the common land of the *župa* partly by a portion of the royal taxes on the *župa*, and partly by annual traditional gifts exactly corresponding to those paid to the *obman* or *mahlmann* by the *markgenossenschaft*.

To still further illustrate the close relation of the *župa* to the *hîwa*, we may note that the *župa* maintained a *burg*, or fenced place of arms,—corresponding closely to the *haga* or *haia*. Round this so-called *grada*, or *haia*, were the huts or dwellings of a group of blood-related households who tilled the common lands of the community under the guidance of the leader of the *bratsvo* or brotherhood.[2] The *bratsvo* still exists. Each blood-related household, which embraces several families, looks carefully after the marriages of its members, but at the same time pays from the common purse the charges of the marriage feast. While exogamy is now the rule, there is a good deal of folklore evidence to show that

[1] Ducange cites a number of examples of *zuppa* and *zupanus* for district or parish, and its presiding officer. The words also appear in mediæval Latin as *supa* and *supanos*. I suspect the *suppar* = *socius*, who is in this case also *cognatus*, cited in another place by Ducange, is also one of the *župa*, or of the kin.

[2] A *bratsvo* is a community of several blood-related households with common lands and patron-saint; a *župa* seems to have been primitively much the same organisation.

endogamy was once the custom of these communistic kindred households. A great feature of a *bratsvo*, as of the φρατρία, is the kin-feast, conducted by the alderman of the group household. It is held in honour of the kin-saint or patron, who has no doubt usurped the place of some heathen deity. The revelry ends with choruses and dances of youths and maidens, certain of these dances being of the type otherwise only performed at weddings.[1]

Thus, whether we consider the *župa* as philologically related or not to the *sibja*, we find among the Southern Slavs precisely the same communistic kin-households with their fenced place, their judicial arrangements, common land, and kin-festivals as we have found among Germans and Greeks. It is clear that we are dealing with a type of Aryan civilisation, not with something peculiarly German; and what is more a type fundamentally inconsistent with the patriarchal system.

(10) Another general word for sex-relationship is *freien*, with the noun *freite*, one of the earliest Teutonic words for sexual freedom. It is noteworthy that *freien* now stands for the wooing or courtship which precedes marriage, and very generally but by no means universally all sex-relationship. Precisely in the period of wooing, however, the woman, even under the patriarchal system, has more of equality and comradeship than at any later period. The period of courtship forms, I believe, a faint reflex of the relation of the sexes in the mother-age. This period is essentially a

[1] For the above and many other particulars of the *župa* and *bratsvo* see Krauss, *Sitte u. Brauch der Südslaven*, Vienna, 1885.

time of freedom for the woman, and it is remarkably significant that the modern name for it should be that for the free intercourse of the old social system. It shows that comradeship—freedom and friendship—were ideas evolved from a sex-relationship, which nowadays would be universally condemned as antisocial.

The ultimate root of *freien* is *frî*, Sanskrit *prî*, to embrace, love in the sexual sense, enjoy. In Sanskrit *Prîtis* is the wife of the god of love; *prijas* is the loved one, the bridegroom, the spouse, and *prijâ*, the loved woman; *prijâja* is to be intimate. Gothic *frijôn* is to love, *frijaþva* signifies sexual love, and *frijôns* kiss; *frijônds* and *frijôndia* stand for male and female lovers, friends. A.S. *frigjan* is to love, to embrace, and *freôd* is love. O.N. *frî* is spouse, wooer, *fria* to love. Danish *frie* is woo, marry. Dutch *vrijen*, M.H.G. *vrîen*, both to woo.[1] L.G. *frijte* stands for wooing, and thence we might pass to a variety of Teutonic words deduced from *freien*, still extant, and denoting courtship, wooing, or matrimony.

We may further note Bohemian *pritel*, a male friend or lover; O.N. *friðill*, Landsmaal *fridla*, O.H.G. *friudil*, lover, bridegroom, spouse; *friedila*, a loved woman;[2] and M.H.G. *milchvriedel*, a beardless lover. Danish *frille* stands for mistress or concubine, Friesian

[1] I suspect Gothic *fraiv*, seed (as in the parable of the sower), and race or offspring, O.E. *fri* for family or offspring, and English *fry*, Swedish *frö* for spawn, are related to the root *fri*, as *hîwo*, spouse, and *hîwa*, family, hive, to the root *hî*.

[2] It is most noteworthy that in O.H.G. *friudalin* is used of a concubine, and *friedila* is used for *virago*, for a woman *quae virile implet officium*, runs the gloss; strange but weighty evidence of the importance of women under the old free sexual system, and of the impression they formed on the men of the new civilisation.

frudelf is a lover. With such evidence as this before us, there can, I think, be no doubt that the primitive value of *fri* is love in the sexual sense; and, further, that love as a bond between friends is the outcome of this sexual love. In participle form we have, besides the Gothic *frijônds* already cited: O.N. *frîantr*, friends; later *fraendi*, confidant, relative, friend; O.S. *friund*, relative, friend; O.H.G. *vriunt* and *vrunt*, relative, male lover, spouse, friend, but also serf and vassal; Dutch *vriend*, Friesian *friond* and *friuene*; O.S., O. Swedish, and O.H.G. variations of *friuntscaf* are rendered by relationship, friendship, intimacy, and *unfriuntscaf* is all that is hostile to the *friantscafida*.

Now the historical evolution of the word is certainly sexual lover, relative, friend, retainer, serf. We have, in fact, precisely the same succession of ideas as in *hîwo*. Grimm asserts that in the older languages a distinction is made between *mâg* and *vriunt*, the kinsman and the friend, but he cites nobody earlier than Walther von der Vogelweide; and the notion of relative and kinsman attaches to *vriunt* or *friend* in all Teutonic dialects, of which the separation occurred ages before Walther's day. Thus, in Norse, *fraendi* is especially the kinsman as opposed to *ven*, the friend, in modern sense. In the *Nibelungenlied* we find *friunde* occur as the persons who may be kissed, *e.g.* the kin.[1] In old M.L.G. law-books *vrunt* is used frequently for relative, and *vruntelink* for one of the kin, corresponding to A.S. *frundeling*,

[1] The limitation of the kiss of women to the blood kin is of special significance, when we note how the words for sexual intimacy and kissing pass into each other, *e.g.* Gothic *frijôns*, kiss, is here to the point.

a relative; also *freund*, *frunt*, is repeatedly used for *verwandter* in the Tyrolese *Weisthümer*. Swedish has *fränka*, *fraeundkona* for female relative, and O.H.G. *friuntin*, M.L.G. *vriundîn*, denote not only the mistress and concubine, but also the *consanguinea*. Indeed, *vriuntschaft* is used for *consanguinitas*, blood relationship, and also, but probably later, for *affinitas*. *Nagelvriunt* is identical with *nagelmâc*, and often the only additional persons included in the *vriunde* beyond the *mâc* are the members of the household, the vassals—precisely the extension we have seen in the use of *hîwa*. Thus we see the chain connecting two such different glosses as *friunte* = *parentis* and *friuntscalh* = *cliens* or serf. We accordingly conclude that the notion of friendliness has arisen from the old kindred group-marriage, in precisely the same way as the notions of kindliness, comfort, and beauty in *kind*, *behaglich*, *gemächlich*, etc. Before we pass to another important conception acquired by the old mother-age *vriunte*, we may briefly consider the old deities associated with this root *fri* or *prî*.

Besides Sanskrit *Prîtis* for the wife of the god of love; *Prije* is the old Bohemian goddess of love. Then we have a wide range of Teutonic mother-goddesses, goddesses of fertility and sex. In the first place, we may note *Frea* of the Langobards; then, farther north, *Fria*, *Frija*, from whom our Friday is derived, essentially a northern Venus; and ultimately, in Scandinavia, we have two notable forms—*Freyja*, *Frowâ*, *Fraujô*, or simply *Frî* (*Frau*), a most typical mother-age goddess, as well goddess of death as of fertility; and *Frigg*, *Friche*, or

Fricke,[1] Woden's wife, whom Paul the Deacon identifies with *Frea*, and who is essentially a goddess of sex. *Frowâ* is a good example of the early mother-age, for she marries her brother *Freyr*. The names of both mark the old brother and sister wooers, and are especially valuable, as her name has become the general name for woman and wife. She is the woman, the wooer, *par excellence*. *Frigg*, on the other hand, bears the girdle of Aphrodite; the plough, the symbol of fertility, is sacred to her, while the cat, which shares with the dog —the attendant of Holla and Walpurga—the doubtful honour of representing lustfulness among the Teutons, is her constant companion. From the *Oddrúnar-Grátr* in the *Edda* we learn that both Frigg and Freyja were appealed to by women in labour. We further see how in the later father-age the earlier freedom of sex in *Frigg* and *Freyja* is brought out as traditional. Thus in the *Hyndloliòd*, Hyndla accuses Freyja of a promiscuity worthy of a she-goat, running after her lover at night. In the *Lokasenna* Loki finds Freyja full of lewdness, for all the Anses assembled in Aegir's hall had been in turn her paramour. Frigg in the same song Loki scolds as a wanton, for she had taken to her bosom Vea and Vilja, Odin's brothers. Thus we see in both *Frigg* and *Freyja* survivals in a father-age mythology of mother-age deities—daughters of Mother Earth—whose early practice of kin group-marriage survives only as a tradition to be raked up by Loki, when he chaffs the assembled gods. The relation of *Frowâ* to

[1] This guttural modification of *Frowa* should be compared with the *hig* variants of *hi*, e.g. *hige* for *hiwe*, etc.

the earth and to fertility is evidenced in some interesting O.H.G. glosses. Thus *Erdfrôwa* is a gloss for *Cybele*, and *Liutfrôwa* for *Juno Populonia*.

As *frei*, free, is related to *Frea*, and *froh*, glad, to *Frowâ* and *Frâ*, so *freck*, shameless, is related to *Fricke*; they suggest the essential features of the sexual character of these Teutonic mother-goddesses, who are the Western representatives of Astarte, Isis, and Anaïtis. They are *frei*, *froh*, and *freck* all at once. I do not think we can separate the ultimate root of *Frea* from *Frau*, and the Sanskrit *prî*, embrace, enjoy, finds a corresponding cognate in *pra-av*, satisfy, satiate. Associated with this we have the Wendish god *Prove*, the god of the ploughshare, and counterpart of *Freyr*, the wooer and paramour. The notion of the sex-relation as ploughing, or sowing, tilth, is common to nearly all Aryan nations,[1] and the goddess of sex is invariably the goddess of the plough, of agriculture and fertility in general. A highly suggestive parallel may, in this respect, be drawn between *Demeter-Ceres* and *Freyja*. Demeter is essentially Mother Earth, and is the paramour of her brother Zeus. She helps man to the discovery of the plough, and teaches him how to sow corn. The *Thesmophoria* in her honour commemorate the origin of civilisation, which may be identified with the beginnings of agriculture. Demeter falls in love with a mortal, and lies with him in a thrice-ploughed field. In Germany a field is made fertile by the *Frau*, doubtless symbolising *Frowâ*, going through a representation of the same act. A somewhat similar folk-custom used to be gone through as a maiden completed the operation of grafting fruit trees. In both

[1] See Appendix III.

we have close traces of the origin of agriculture and horticulture in the old woman-civilisation, with its peculiar worship of mother-goddesses of fertility. Such worship is to be found also in those other festivals of Demeter, the *Cerealia* and *Eleusinia*, which were essentially survivals of the old woman-directed religious observances of the mother-age. They may be illustrated from the witch-gatherings and periodic festivals of the Middle Ages. At present I must be content to point out how *freien* leads us up to the kin-group, with its periodic sex-festivals and its licentious worship of mother-goddesses.

There remains, however, two important senses of the root which I have not yet touched upon,—those of *frei* or *free*, and *freude*, joy. As the kin are the friends,[1] so the kinsman is the freeman as distinguished from the bondsman; the source of the idea 'freedom' is to be sought in the bond between the old *vriunte* or co-wooers. As Grimm long ago pointed out, the root *fri* takes us into a chain of words dating from the highest antiquity. These words cross and recross into each other with a great flexibility of sense, but they are one and all intelligible if we go back to the primitive meaning of *fri*,—which is undoubtedly that of sexual love,—and then attempt to realise the circumstances of that kin-group which was the primitive unit for family, society, and sex. It was in the kin-group of wooers, among the *vriunte*, that there was *freedom*, peace, and pleasure. Precisely as other names for the kin-wooing

[1] With *Frea* and the *vriunte* may be compared Ἥρα and the ἥρωες, the tribal mother and her progeny, the *freemen*, who have become the goddess and the tribe-founders. I take Latin *heres* to be related; it stood for the male or *female* member of the kin-group, the *heirs*.

are the sources of kindness and comfort[1] (*sibsam*, *winsome*, *gemächlich*, *kind*, *higlich*, *gätlich*, etc.), so the root *fri*, in the early dawn of civilisation, gives us the first conceptions of *frîheit*, *fridu*, and *frawî*, the basis of all further human achievements. It is only by grasping the original primitive sources of these three ideas that we can appreciate why it is that their cognates so often return to their primitive sex-value, or understand why so many equivalent terms appear from one and another of these three words. From the notion of sex-freedom among the kin springs the conception of the kinsman as the freeman, as distinguished from the bondsman; and from the freeman, with his privileges, the whole judicial system suggested by *freiding*, *freigericht*, and *freiherr*. To make a man a *freeman* is to make him of the *vriunte*, of the kin-wooers; and thus *freien* means either *liberare* or *matrimonium inire*. *Freiding* is only another fuller development of the *hîrath* and the *mahal*, and the *freiherr* a disguised form of the kin-alderman, the *mahlmann* or *župan*. But the whole series of words for freedom carries us, like *libertas*, up and down the scale, from the highest to the lowest conceptions; *free* has its good and bad senses.[2] The *freihart* is the stroller, the vagabond; the *freifrau* is not only the *freiherr's* wife, in early times she is the *mulier vaga*, and the word is used like *freiweib* for a prostitute—a double development

[1] Even from this root *frî* we note the first *befriedigung* and *freude* as the sexual. Compare Sanskrit *prîti* for *befriedigung* and *prîta*, loved, pleased.

[2] Curiously enough the notion of licentious in *frei* passes over at every turn into the notion of joyous, beautiful, and commendable, as in *vrî und vrum*, and Lessing's *Wie frei, wie schön ist sie.*

precisely comparable with *queen* and *quëan*. *Freimann* is not only a freeman, but also a wooer and a pimp, just like *freier*, which leads us to *freierin* and *freierei* in bad senses. Even a trace of the same idea has associated itself with *freigeist* and *freethinker*, which latter has often been identified with *libertine*.

Noteworthy is the sense attached to *freihof* and *freiort*, not merely of free land or house, but of a place of shelter or refuge,—it is the kin-dwelling as an asylum. This leads us up to *freiung* or *vrîunge* for a fenced-in or palisaded place of refuge—precisely the notion of the *hag*. Thus the *friedhof* is also called *freihof*, and we pass to the notion of *friede*, *friedigung*, as in *einfriedigung*, and Swabian *frid*[1] and *gefride*, a fence,—the freedom or peace maintained by a fence. In this case the *fridhag*, *fridgatter*, and *fridzaun* (a gloss for *sepes*), as parts of the old mark system, are of great suggestiveness. The fact that all early judicial assemblies were held in the open air, and derived all their authority from a society of freemen, makes the proclamation of *bann* and *frid*, and the *hegung* of the *gericht*, of special importance. The notion associated in the earliest times with *bann* and *frid*, as in *fridbann*, was much more that of a limitation to the going and coming, a fencing in of the assembly, than one of orderliness and peace in the modern sense of these words. *Spannen* is used in much the same way as *hegen*. The *lager*, camp, or 'outspanning' of a group of freemen or kinsmen, is as much the origin of the judicial unit of peace as it

[1] Compare the *deorfrid* of the Saxon Chronicle.

is of the social and sexual units. The *freiding* passes insensibly over into the O.H.G. *friduding*. The *friede* words, however, pass just like the *frei* words back to the sexual sense with *friedel* and *friedela*.

If we turn to the notion of *fri* in *frawi*, *frawida*, *freude*, joy, we find this phase of the root closely associated with O.H.G. *frô*, the man, master, lord (Gothic *frauja*, O.S. *fraho*), and O.H.G. *frôwâ* (Norse *frâ*, German *frau*), the woman, lady. These words *frô* and *frôwâ*, are identical with the Norse divinities *Freyr* and *Freyja*.[1] Grimm would deduce *frô*, man, from *froh*, joyous, but this seems to invert the natural order; the fundamental idea still seems that of wooers or sexual-lovers, and the notion of pleasure or joy is deduced from this. The word has remained with its primitive weight in *freudenhaus*, *freudenmädchen*, *freudenspiel*, and *freudenkind*. As Grimm has himself pointed out, there is in *freude* a strong sense of *voluptas*, the pleasures of the meal and of sexual love,—an aspect of the word represented in *freudenmahl* and *freudentanz*.

The double sense of *free* is represented in other words than those from the root *fri*. Thus O.H.G. *laz* is free and *libertinus* in the double sense, while *lazza* is a harlot. But a still more complete analogy for the origin of the notion of freedom in the group-marriage will be found in the Latin *liber*, free, itself. Here *liberi* denotes, like *fry*, the offspring, the free kin. But *liber*, besides free and frank, also means licentious.

[1] *Freya* and *Freyja* are essentially the brother and sister wooers, the man and woman, the brother and the bride.

Even *Freyr* and *Freyja* find something of counterparts in the deities *Liber* and *Libitina*, the first a god of lust, and the second a goddess of death; but probably, like *Freyja* and other mother-goddesses, originally a goddess of fertility as well as a goddess of death,[1]—a view confirmed by the identification of *Libitina* with *Persephone*.[2] In the form *lĭb* or *lub'*, the sense of *liber* passes essentially to that of pleasure, desire, lust, sex-love. The Sanskrit root is *lubh* or *lob*, desire; *lubdha* is lustful, and such words as Latin *lubere* and *lubido* indicate the peculiar significance. The root appears in Slavonic *ljub*, whence *ljuba*, a spouse; A.S. *lîôf*, O.F. *liaf*, a spouse, male lover; M.H.G. *liep*, the *liebchen* or loved one. Then we have a whole round of cognates in *lieb* and *love*, which the reader can easily follow up if he desires to trace how mankind has evolved the noblest of human attributes out of an original lust.[3] What is quite clear is that the primitive value of *lub* is sexual desire, and this root corresponds completely to *frî*, although the notion of freedom has only remained in the Latin *liber*.

Connected with the same root we have the German *verlobung*, although, perhaps, indirectly. The primitive notion of desire, lust, changes in the Gothic *galubs* to the desired, the valued; and hence, through the idea of praised, approved, as in *loben* and *geloben*, to the conception of a mutual approval, contract, vow,

[1] Compare the Celtic *Taillîu*, at once a goddess of death and agriculture, *i.e.* fertility. See p. 209.

[2] Persephone was undoubtedly a goddess of fertility; it is characteristic that she was the child of a brother-sister union.

[3] The notion in *lust* of relaxation, freedom (Teutonic *lus*, to set free), may itself be compared with the idea of freedom in *liber* and *frei*.

as in *gelübde*. The earliest use of *loben* with regard to marriage does not appear to have connoted what we should now understand by a marriage vow or promise, but rather a mutual approval expressed in the presence of the kin, out of which the notion of the compact or promise itself developed and became attached to the *lub'* root. Thus originally *verlobung* is not the promise of future nuptials, but the expression of mutual approval, which follows the recognition of mutual desire.[1] In fact, we can trace almost stage by stage the evolution of the word from the mere notion of sexual desire in *lub'* up to the promise of future nuptials conveyed in *verlobung*. It is also clear that in the earliest period the *gelöbnis*, or the *lofte*, was immediately followed by the sexual union. Both Fischart and Luther use the word *verloben* as identical with marriage. In M.L.G. *lovelbêr* is used for the marriage feast, and *brûtloft* is identical with marriage. Here we may also draw attention to the mediæval *gelobtanz* or *lobetanz*, a dance of the whole commune in a public place. In the sixteenth century we are told the young women would not serve in the parsonages, because they were not allowed to go over the green to the *lobetanz*. Whitsuntide and St. Lawrence's Day (August 10th) were the times, and under the linden tree was the place for these dances, which a sixteenth-century writer tells us "were maintained by our ancestors in order that their children might be seen by their neighbours, and marriages result." It is difficult not

[1] It is not only that the approval, *lob*, follows the desired, but that what is the desired is the *be-lieved*, the *glauben*,—an argument for the acceptance of belief recently advocated by a distinguished author; see vol. i. Essay VI.

to see in these dances a fossil of the old sex-festival with its *hîleih* or *chorus*. What we here deduce from philological considerations is amply confirmed by folk-lore.[1] The *verlobung* in many country districts is the all-important factor in the marriage ceremony. There is always a *schmaus*, a *rede*, and a *tanz*; in other words, all the elements of the old group *mahal*. In old days, too, the sexual union at once followed, and preceded the *trauung*, which in the Church sense often did not take place at all, or not till long afterwards. This view of *verlobung*, as really resulting from the ancient mother-age sex-relations, receives confirmation from the old Prussian use of *salûba* and the Polish use of *s'lub* for marriage. Thus *verlobung*, with its Scandinavian cognates, meaning now betrothal, must be in the first place associated with the sex-idea in *lubh*. Of the two elements of the modern sex-union, the *verlobung* is the mother-age fossil, and the *trauung*, or *übergabe der braut*, the patriarchal supplement of the primitive marriage form.

With *love*, as derived from the sexual *lubh*, may be compared the love-series derived from Aryan *ka*, *kar*, *kam*, to yearn after, desire, love sexually. Sanskrit *kam* is to love, *kamra* is charming, *cakamânâ*, desire, yearn after, *kâma*, a wish; Lettish *kârs* is dainty, *kârôt*, to desire; Slavonic *kochati* is love; Irish *cara* is a friend, *caraim*, I love; Latin *carus* is dear, beloved, *caritia* is the quality of being dear, affection (probably for *camrus* and *camritia*; possibly *comis*, for *cosmis*,

[1] As I have mentioned above, I hope on another occasion to deal at length with peasant customs in their relation to the mother-age.

friendly, loving, is also related), *amo* for *camo*, and all the terms dealing with the amorous and amatory may be added, *e.g.* *amicus*, friend, *amica*, female friend, mistress; *caress* = fondle, hug, is again from this root. Fick is of opinion that Gothic *hôrs*, a male lover, O.H.G. *huora*, English *whore*, are also derivatives of *kar*, with its primitive notion of sexually yearn after. Thus we see the sexual appetite again leading us to a series of less and less animal affections, passing through the ideas of what is charming, dainty, friendly, and concluding with all the feelings summed up in *charity*.

An almost similar evolution leads us from the root *ghar*, to yearn after, through the notions of desiring, rejoicing, pleasing, to the ideas of *grace* and *gratitude*. In short, we pass from O.H.G. *girî*, *giridi*, glossed *concupiscentia*, to the graciousness of the *Charites*, by stages each one of which marks a gradual refinement of the purely sexual longing. It is possible that *camera*, *chamber*, and *carmen*, song, from the *kam*, *kar* root, and χόρτος, *hortus*, yard, with χορός, *chorus*, from the *ghar* root (making no *ultimate* distinction between *ghar*, yearn after, and *ghar*, seize), correspond to the notions in *gemach*, *hag*, κώμη, and in *hîleih*, *winileod*, κωμῳδία, the mating-places and the mating-songs, which we find arising from other roots with primitively a sexual value.

(11) A difficult root or possibly pair of roots may now be noted, namely, the Aryan *dhar* or *dar*, to hold, fix, keep. Thus we have Sanskrit *dhri*, to hold, and *dridha*, hard, *firm*. The Teutonic root *trewa* meaning the firm, the fast, and ultimately *true*, is really, I take it, at the base of the idea in both *tree* and *true*, although

the tree notion only has survived in most Aryan tongues (Gothic *triu*, Danish *trae*, Slavonic *drevo*, Greek δρῦς, Sanskrit *dru*, *dâru*, etc., wood, tree, although these have been connected with the root *dar*, to split, *tear*). The notion of hold, keep, is widely retained, as in θρόνος, a chair, *throne*, Latin *firmus* and *fretus*, a bridle, and Sanskrit *dhar*, fix. Then we have the long series of Teutonic roots: O.H.G. *treuwa*, Friesian *triuwa*, A.S. *treoþ*, O. Icel. *trû*, German *treue*, English *truth* and *troth*, with the verbs, O.H.G. *triuwen*, O. Icel. *trûa*, Gothic *trauan*, A.S. *treoþian*, English *trow*, etc. The general notion, as in *treowscipe* and *trûleikr*, is that of firmness, fidelity. It might at first be supposed that a formal plighting of fidelity was sufficient to explain the use of the root *trewa* in the sense of marriage, thus German *trauen*, English *troth*, and Dutch *trowen*, used in the sense of marry. But the remarkable feature of the use of this word for marry is this, that as we trace that use backwards, it appears to point more and more to a temporary or illicit sexual union arising from familiarity or confidence, and not to a permanent marriage. In the laws of the Langobard Liutprand (A.D. 723) *triuuwa* is used of a peace-pledge, and in O.H.G. *katriuuete* denotes men who are thus linked together, *foederati*. Thus the *Heliand* describes Christ's disciples as *triuwiston man*, and causes the centurion of Capernaum to say that he has *erlô gitrost*. This Old Saxon *gitrost*, O.H.G. *trust* and *trustis*, has the sense of *auxilium*, *clientela*, or following, those fixed or bound by some form of pledge to a chief. O.N. *traust* is *protectio*, *refugium*, and O.H.G. *trôst*,

is solace, help, while *trostjan* is to console, comfort. Turning to another form of the root, we have *trût* in O.H.G. glossed *dilectus, amicus, sodalis.* It is used for a pupil or disciple; Abraham's *trute* is his son; in Otfrid God's *drut* is used for his angel. It is the dear one, the *geliebter* or the *geliebte*, the male or female lover. The Italian *drudo* is a gallant, a male lover, and *druda* a sweetheart, mistress; the Gaelic *drûth* is a mistress, a prostitute. In O.H.G. *trûtin, trutinna*, is the beloved woman, or sweetheart; *trûtscapht* is intimacy, familiarity, sexual love; *trûtliet* is a love song, probably a *winileod* or *hûleih; drûtman* is used by Otfrid for a beloved follower or vassal. In M.H.G. *trûtgemahele* is a beloved wife, *trûtfriunt* a loved friend, and *trûtgespielin* a loved female comrade. These words show that the idea in *trût* is not that of a formal marriage pledge; otherwise *trûtgemahele* would be tautology. This is further evidenced by O.H.G. and M.H.G. *trûten, triuten*, love, fondle, and also know sexually; as well as M.H.G. *trutschel*, coquetry. The word *trut* appears also in a great number of O.H.G. names for women[1] as *Adaltrut, Liuttrud, Gertrud, Sigitrud*, etc., and this leads us to a still wider conception of its significance. For we find in Norse that *Herthrûdr, Jarthrûdhr, Sigthrûdr*, correspond to these names, while O.N. *Thrûdhr* is the name for a special goddess, the daughter of Thor; but also for goddesses and occasionally for women in general, although it frequently marks a woman of titanic character, a Valkyrie. Later M.H.G. *trut, trute*,

[1] Names for men, *Trutpert, Trutwin, Trutman, Trutbald*, etc., suggest also their relationship to the *trut* or mistress.

Bavarian and Tyrolese *trud*, *drud*, *trûte*, *trütl*, Modern German *drude*, denotes a witch, magic-working woman, or spirit, who comes as an *incubus* at night. That the *trud* who came and pressed the sleeper at night was, like the witch's devil (see Essay IX. p. 23), often very human, is evidenced by Bucher's tale of the Capuzine Father, who found out that his *trut* was the *kerzlerin*, *i.e.* the woman who sold votive candles in the church. *Trûtennacht* is Walpurgisnacht, the night of the great witch feast and sexual gathering. *Trutenbaum*, *Trutenhausen*, *Trutenberg*, are all suggestive place-names for old folk-gatherings. Anglo-Saxon records show a *Thryat* or *Drida*, a wood-maiden, who ultimately married Offa of Mercia, but is stated to have committed many evil deeds in both France and England.[1] Anglo-Saxon *dry* is *magus*, sorcerer, and *dryas*, *malefici*, enchanters, may possibly be connected. The *Drudenfuss* is a well-known symbol of magic and of protection from magic. It will be seen that the *drude* or *trût* is in almost every respect identical with the *hexe*. In folklore there is precisely the same relation to children, to domestic animals, and to women in childbirth, as we find in the case of the *hexe*. Just as in the latter word, the male *hexenmeister*, so the *druder*, is derived from the female, and we find just the same sexual cult on the same day.

Carrying the word back, we find its sexual weight still preserved but leading us in *trût* and *trûtina* to mistress, spouse, and bride, and in many women's names to something which denotes little more than female comrade. It

[1] Possibly a nursery variant of the *Drude* is *Dame Trot*; she at any rate is accompanied by the appropriate cat. Compare the German Frau Trutte.

seems to me that the evolution of *trût* is exactly parallel to that of the *hagezisa*, the *hexe*—the gradual corruption of a term for female comrade to the evil sense of female demon,[1] as the old heathen sexual customs become of bad repute. Accordingly I do not think that *drude* can be connected with any root meaning press, or oppress, as in English *tread* and Gothic *us-thriutan*, trouble. I think with Johannes Schmidt we must connect all these words for *trude* in the evil sense with Norse *Thrûdhr*, and with Italian *druda*, the divine woman, and the loved one or mistress.[2] Hence ultimately we are led back to the idea in *triu*, Lithuanian *driútas*, fixed, the idea of fast and firm, the idea of a group of people, who have *trôst*, protection, solace, help, in the *triuuva* or peace-pledge among themselves;[3] it is their *schutz und trutz*.[4] As usual, whenever we come across such a group, within which is peace, *sibja*, we find at once the free sexual relations, which are the physiological basis upon which such 'firm' groups have been built up. The *trûtgeselleschaft* is nothing more than the union, social and sexual, which we have already noted in the *gamahhida* and the *katilinga*. The sexual and social group *troth* is the basis of all the more spiritual ideas which are afterwards associated with *true* and *truth*.

Closely associated with the Aryan root *dhar*, hold,

[1] Even Ulfilas had to render δαιμόνιον by the feminine *unhultho*. *Unholde* appears to be only a derivative from *Holde*, an initially fairly beneficent goddess of fertility.

[2] The term *godes drûden* for the Virgin Mary (*e.g. Arnsteiner Marienleich* of 1140, see line 226) gives exactly the double sense of divine woman and of loved mistress on which the old monks delighted to play (see Essay XII.)

[3] Compare the *gamahhida* as *consortium foedus*, pp. 142, 144.

[4] O.H.G. *truzi*, *clientela*, adherents; compare *trustis*, referred to above.

fix, is the guttural form *dharg*, having practically the same sense. The notion of *hold* appears in German *tragan* and English *drag*. Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon *dragan*, carry, standing between the two. We get from this guttural form words with senses almost identical with the *trût* terms. Thus Old Slavonic *drugu* is *socius, amicus;* Russian *drugu* and *druginja*, *amicus* and *amica;* Czech *druh*, *druha*, male and female comrades, *druzný*, companionable; Lettish *dráugs*, comrade, *dráudse*, commune, *dráudsība*, community; Lithuanian *draûgas*, *draûgalka*, male and female companions, and *draugé*, community. Then we have Old Saxon *druht*, O. Friesian *dracht*, Anglo-Saxon *dryht*, Old Norse *drôtt*, O.H.G. *truht* for a troop, a crowd, a folk, or even an army; Gothic *gadraúhts* is a soldier. Close following on *truht*, we have the leader of the *truht*, the *truhtîn*, *truhten* of O.H.G. and M.H.G., the lord, chief; A.S. *dryhten*, leader, prince, but often god; O.N. *drôttinn*, leader, chief, and even priest. O.N. *drôttning*, Swedish *drottning*, Danish *dronning*, lady of high estate, queen. In most Teutonic dialects *truhtên* is specially used of God or Christ. A more especially folk-term is O.H.G. *truhsâze*, M.H.G. *truhtsaeze*, Old Friesian *drusta*, Swedish *drottsät*, *drots*, Danish *drost*, the foresitter of the *truht* group, and later an important court-official, the representative of the king, *truchsess*, also the chief of the royal larder. So far we see in this root much the notion of the *katriuuete*, the *foederati*, or group held together by some special bond of comradeship; but a few words suffice to show that this bond was originally sexual. Thus Polish *druzba* is 'Brautfuhrer,' Old

Friesian *dracht* is used in general of the bridal following; while A.S. *dryhtguma* is vassal, follower, warrior, *truhtigomo* in O.H.G. is *paranymphus*, bridesman; O.H.G. *truhtinc* is *pronuba*, *paranymphus*, *sodalis*, *sponsalis*, and O. Saxon *druhting*, *drohting*, a wedding-guest, one who attends the bridal procession and feast. Thus we are again led to the idea that our 'fast' group is not only a social group and a military group, but also a bridal group; the base of the *truht* is seen to be not only a peace-pledge, a civic unity, but also a sexual bond. It corresponds exactly to the words for marriage and family arising from the root *ê*, or *ehe*, a pact. The co-sexual social unit may not be as clearly illustrated in the *dhar* and *dharg* terms as in some others we have come across, but we find unmistakable traces of it even here.

(12) The last general words applicable to a co-sexual community to which I shall refer are offshoots from the Aryan root in Sanskrit *bhu* or *bu*, Greek φυ, Latin *fe*, and Teutonic *bu* or *bau*. The primitive value here appears undoubtedly to be to produce sexually, for this significance at least is common to all the Aryan languages. We then have the notions of procreate, grow, form, and ultimately produce or create in a non-sexual sense. Starting with the Greek we have φύω, bring forth, produce, beget, generate, grow, wax, etc.: φύτωρ is a father; φύσις, creature, kind, sex, and sexual organs, obtained in course of time an overgrowth of abstract notions; φυτόν is a creature, a plant, a tree, and may be compared with German *baum* from root *bau*; φιτύω and φυτεύω still carry the notion of bear or beget, or engender; φῖτυς is a begetter, and φῖτυ, the begotten; φυλή is a clan, connected

by blood and local habitation, but it is also a primitive military unit,—a conception precisely identical with what we have traced in the *hag* and *župa* words; the same range of ideas is also associated with φῦλον and other co-radicates. Without the notion of clan we find the purely sexual weight of the root preserved in Latin *fecundus*, *femina*, *fenus*, *fetus*, and most probably *feles*, the cat as the fecund one, and *felix*, the fruitful and so the lucky.[1] Sanskrit has *bhû* with the conception of swell, burst; *bhûti* for source, origin, and *buli* for the female sex-organs; while in *bhavana* we pass to the notion of a dwelling as in the Teutonic words to be considered later. Turning now to the Gothic, we have two or three most valuable fossils. In *uf bauljan* the primitive notion of swelling is maintained; in *gabaur* we have Ulfilas's rendering of κῶμος, a common meal and revel; in *gabaurjoþus* we have the Gothic for lust and pleasure, while *gabaurjaba* is fittingly; lastly, *gabauan* is to dwell, and *bauains*, a dwelling. Thus in the root *bhû* we see the primitive idea of sex again expanding in the side notions of common meal and of dwelling, and of what is pleasurable and fitting.[2] Besides these Gothic words, the sense of procreation, and so of lust, is still maintained in the widespread German folk-use of *bauer;* although this word is now used chiefly, but not invariably, for abuse of sex. Just as we found *hag* and *gemach* expressing not only dwelling-places, but related through sexual significance to the ideas of comfort and pleasure, so we find *bauer* also used of a habitation in O.H.G. *pûr*, A.S. *bûr*, and English *bower*. In particular, it seems used in Old Norse, Old

[1] Is *fenum*, hay, possibly related to the root *fe*, as *hay* itself to *hî*?

[2] See pp. 143, 160, etc.

High German, and Anglo-Saxon for the place of the females or of the bride, the *brût in bûre*,[1] a notion still retained in the form *byre*, a shed for cows.

When we turn to *bauer*, a peasant, we must, in the light of the above, consider it as ultimately related to the primitive sexual value of *φυ* or *bhû*, and not related directly to the later sense of *bauen*, to till or cultivate the land. In Scandinavian *bûi* is a neighbour of the male and *bûa* of the female sex, while *bu* is a home, the household, the household effects, and lastly the cattle of the house; *bu* or *bua* is to dwell, and also to rush together, gather, or swarm (Landsmaal), — a conception which carries us back to another sex-word *hî* with its derivative *hive*. Thus it is seen that the notions attached to Modern German *bauen*, *i.e.* to build and to cultivate, are really derivatives, developing out of an original meaning of cohabitation in the double sense. Nor is the primitive weight lost in Old High German. Thus we find *bûari*, whence comes the modern *bauer*, glossed *habitator*; *gabur*, *gaburo* is glossed *municeps*, *civis*, a burgher, *gabura* the nominative plural is *affines*, *junctos*, *contribules*, *vicini*, *i.e.* relatives, neighbours, clansmen; *geburda* is the district; *geburo* glosses *domesticae res*, precisely like *bu*, the household effects, and may be compared with Friesian *bodel* and *budel*. *Inburro* is glossed *vernaculus*, a domestic; *geburliche dinge* are civil and municipal affairs. Thus *bauer*, like *civis* itself, takes us from a purely sexual relationship through notions of cohabitation to clanship, from co-dwellers to co-burghers,

[1] In Beowulf *brȳdbûr* is used for the queen's apartment. In the *Heliand* the *bûida imu bi thero brûdi* used of Herod's relation to Philip's wife gives us again the sexual weight of *bu*.

from *dorfgenossen* to *neighbours*. In other words, the purely sexual instinct leads us step by step to citizenship and neighbourly feeling. As a fossil of the course of evolution, we find the term *bauer* still used in Low German as a feminine noun for a *societas colonorum*, any small local club of yeomen or landed proprietors. In the same Low German which uses *bûr* and *bûrschap* for the community, we have *bûrrichte* and *bûrmâl*, the court for civil processes, and the freedom of the city; *bûrmester* for the burgomaster, and *bûrsprake* for the meeting of the *bûr*, or community at which old and new laws were proclaimed—in short, the parliament, or *mahal*, and its *mahlmann*. An almost similar development may be marked in the Norwegian *bygge* form of *bu*, with its *by* for collection of houses, *bygd*[1] for district or parish, *bylag* for union of inhabitants with their *bygderet* and *bygdeting*. In short, we pass here, as in all the words we have hitherto examined, from the simple sexual notion to *cohabitation* (*beiwohnen*) and common meal; and lastly, to a wider conception of community among neighbours and citizens. It is only in its degeneration that the term used to mark an endogamic union for common life and common tillage of the soil has been narrowed down to this one meaning of cultivator of the land—a meaning emphasised in the earlier days by the use of such words as *lantbûari* or *feldbûari*.[2]

[1] Like *geburda*, no doubt, originally it had the sense of the land under tillage belonging to the clan or kin-group.

[2] An almost similar development to that of the *bu-bauer* series is that of *tak*, Aryan root *tégo*, procreate, which proceeds from the notions of generate, produce, to make, contrive (as we shall also notice in *mâ*). Thus we have Sanskrit *toka*, a child, and *taksh*, to form; Greek τίκτειν, generate, but τεύχειν, make; τέκνον, a child (to be compared with O.N. *þegn*, and M.H.G. *degen*), but τέκτων, a carpenter, etc., and so ultimately to τέχνη and the Greek notions of art.

(13) Our investigation of the general words for kinship in the Teutonic dialects has led us to the conception of an endogamic group having a common dwelling, common land, and common festivals. Kinship and descent are reckoned through the woman, and a woman appears as priestess or tribal-mother (*kone, queen*) at the head or source of the group. A male leader of the kin-group or clan, the *kuninck* or *župan* was elected by the *mahal* or *bûrsprake*, and became the centre from which the patriarchal system ultimately developed. The sexual freedom within the group, marked by a kinship based on the female, led, as we have seen, to some of the chief words for blood relationship being based on names for the womb. Nor was this all, there was often an apparent identification in name between woman and her sex-organ or functions.[1] Nothing of this kind can be definitely asserted in the case of the male sex-functions; they are not the origin of any system of kin-names. The male organs of sex are generally termed after some fanciful resemblance, and with no relation to their function.[2] Very rarely, indeed, do they give their name to the male, as happens so frequently in the case of the other sex. In Swabia *schwanz* is used among the peasantry, boorishly,

[1] Of course not every word for womb has been developed into a kin terminology. Thus O.H.G. *lehtar* and *href* or *ref* (Tatian speaks of Saint Elizabeth: "thaz kind in irâ reve") have originated no such systems. The former may be related to *ligan*, lie, as Greek λεχώ to λέγω, but this is at any rate obscure. The latter is also difficult. A.S. *rif* is glossed *venter*, and *rift* is rendered *velum, vestimentum*, much as *volva* is used both of womb and veil. On the other hand, modern *rift* is a fissure, and leads us to *rîven*, to rive, burst open, and so to the idea in *keimen*. Some Germans even ventured to connect with *corpus!*

[2] The Germanic *zagel, zisel, ruthe, pynte, zers, schwanz*, etc., are similar to *cauda, queue*, etc. The same non-functional description appears in A.S. *eowend* for *membrum virile*, probably from *eowen*. An exception must possibly be made in the case of O.H.G. *fasel=proles*, and M.H.G. *vasel=penis*.

but not indecently, for all that is male ;[1] and it is just possible that German *kerl*, Icelandic *karl*, and English *churl* for man may have sexual weight. The earliest glosses for *karl* are *amator* and *conjux, maritus ;* for *charalon, amatores; charala* is used even for the males of animals.[2] Fick connects *charal* with the Sanskrit *g'ârás*, a lover, a gallant. A.S. *ceorlian* is to marry of the woman, as *vîfian* is to marry of the man. *Swestarkarl*, sister's man, is not glossed by a term for affinity, but by *cognatus*—a striking reminder of the old kin-group. Thus we see that in *charal* the essential feature is the male, rather than the husband. As *buari* degenerated into *bauer*, so *charal* degenerated into *churl* with the change of social institutions.[3] If we seek further for the origin of the term, we note that Sanskrit *gárâmi* means to rub, grind ; O.H.G. *char*, Modern Bavarian *kar* is a small pot or vessel, a *gat ; γραῖαν* appears in Hesychius as a kneading trough or mortar ; O.H.G. *keran, chêran*, and A.S. *cyrran, cernen* are to turn, shake, churn ; the upright axles of the local mills in Sweden and Norway are still called *kvarnkall* and *kvernkall*, *i.e.* churn-*karls*.[4] Lastly, we have the Spanish expressions *carail* and *carajo* for the male organ of sex. Thus without definite proof, there is still some evidence in favour of *charal* as a name for the male taking its

[1] A possibly similar case is that of Armenian *Ordz*, a man, to be compared with the Greek ὄρχις.

[2] A.S. *carlcatt*, O.N. *karlfugl ;* Landsmaal has *kallbjörn, Rjupekall*, etc., where *kall* stands for *karl*.

[3] On the other hand, Czech, Serbian, Polish, Russian, and even modern Greek dialects (*kralj, krâlj, król, karóli*, κράλης) seem to have developed the word precisely like *kuninck* from the sexual sense to that of king.

[4] In parts of Norway *mor* (mother) is used of the massive millstone.

origin in the primitive analogy of fire-sticks and pestle-mill to the sexual act. Be this as it may, however, there is nothing in the early meaning of *charal* to mark a monogamic relation. We find a name for man as lover gradually becoming specialised for the single husband.

It is, indeed, the same with all the Teutonic correlatives for a monogamic pair. Such are *man* and *wife; husband* (the house-dweller, not the householder, be it noted) and *housewife*, *mann* and *frau*. All these, like *hagetisse* and *hagestalt*, merely denote a male and female, possibly members of the same habitation.[1] When monogamy became the custom, it simply specialised words already existing, and expressing in themselves the much freer sexual relations of a primitive civilisation. The reader who has had the patience, however, to pass in review the various fossils of that primitive civilisation which I have collected, will not fail to have been struck with the large part the woman's function of child-bearing has played in the creation and naming of kin, as compared with the man's function of procreation. Herein is the key to several characteristic features of the mother-age.

[1] It is noteworthy to what a small extent the idea of *householder* had grown into the idea of husband or father before the Aryan scatter. Thus we have the pan-Aryan *vic* for clan-dwelling or house, in Sanskrit *veçá*, Greek *Foῖκος*, Latin *vicus*, Slavonic *visi*, Gothic *veihs*, A.S. *wick*, O. Irish *fick*, Cornish *guic*; and yet only in Greek *οἰκοδεσπότης*, Sanskrit *viçpáti*, Zend *viçpaiti*, and Lithuanian *wëszpatis*, do we reach the notion of *łupan*, house-father or lord. The householder as chief does not thus seem to have been a widely current notion in early Aryan times; still less widely spread was the notion of the householder as sexual father. Compare Latin *dominus* (Sanskrit *dampatí*) from *domus*, with its minimum of the sense of paternity or sexual relationship. On the other hand, the idea of co-dwellers does at once lead us to terms for kinship and comradeship. Thus notice the Greek *οἰκία*, household, family, lineage, race (like *οἶκος* also), *οἰκειότης*, relationship, friendship, intimacy of man and woman, marriage, *οἰκείωμα*, relationship, affinity.

Part III

SPECIAL WORDS FOR SEX AND RELATIONSHIP

He who would still hold familiar intercourse with them, must train himself to penetrate the veil which in ever-thickening folds conceals them from the ordinary gaze; he must catch the tone of a vanished society, he must move in a circle of alien associations, he must think in a language not his own.—Arthur J. Balfour.

In the first part of this paper we considered the accepted picture of the primitive Aryan family; in the second part we deduced from the general words for sex and kinship a picture of the primitive Teutonic group entirely at variance with the hitherto accepted views on Aryan kinship. It now remains to be shown that the special words for sex and relationship, upon which the latter views are based, are themselves capable of a different interpretation, not only consistent with, but tending to confirm the existence of a primitive kindred group-marriage. In studying these special words I propose still to keep, so far as possible, to the Teutonic forms.

(1) Of *mann*, beyond the statement that originally it appears to have denoted a human being apart from sex, there is little to be said. An anthropologist would probably give more weight than the philologists appear to do to the notion of remaining, dwelling, in the root, and less to that of thinking, remembering.

Weib, *wife*, *wifman*, *woman*, requires a good deal more consideration. O.H.G. *wîp*, M.H.G. *wîf*, *wîb*, appear closely related to *weibôn*, *wibon*, to move about, flap, *fluctuare*, *agitari*. A cognate Sanskrit root is *vi* to weave, plait, or bind, and we find the notion again in Latin *viere* and *vibrare* to shake, and in many words denoting the bent, shaken, woven, or plaited. In Anglo-Saxon *vaefan*, *vaiffjan* is to wrap up, *wefan* to weave; and we have a host of German and Scandinavian cognates for covering up, and for veils, clothes, etc. Thus we appear to have a variety of senses to choose from. We might say with Wackernagel and Graff that the *weib* is the agitator, the moving, busy one: we might suggest with Skeat that the wife is the agitated one, the trembling bride; we might consider with Deecke that the wife is the weaver; or consider with others led by the notion in *nubere* that the wife must be the veiled or covered one.[1] Against all these views many objections may be raised; in the first place, *weib* does not necessarily connote one who has been a bride: in the next place, it is highly probable that the name arose before the Teutons had much idea of clothing, still less of weaving. Nor does the complex notion of the woman, as especially the busy, moving one, seem likely to strike the primitive mind: it seems much more the discovery of a modern student, who found in man the thinker, and in woman the active disturber of his study. With Schmeller, I think, we may assert that the neuter gender of *weib* must denote that it was

[1] It seems much more probable that the term *wife* at first arose from the [illegible] with the [illegible] which is so common in the folklore of marriage. If we look at the form [illegible] it seems probable that that it was primarily due to a feeling of awe [illegible]

originally used figuratively for woman. If its original sense had been woman, then the formation of such a compound as *wîfman* seems inexplicable. The *wîf* in *wîfman* could not primitively have had the force of woman more than the *maegeð* in *maegeðman* had primitively the force of maiden.[1] The *wîf* marks rather some idea which is associated with the fully developed woman (O.H.G. *wîpheit* is glossed *menstrua*), as distinguished from the *mâget* or maid, with the active child-bearer rather than with a future potentiality of child-bearing. If, then, we turn to seek other explanations than those provided by the philologists, it is not only because from the anthropological standpoint the instincts of sex and of feeding form the basis of most primitive nomenclature, but it is also because the latter explanations fail to meet the difficulty as to the neuter gender of *weib*.

In the first place, we might note that the Sanskrit *vi*, or a fuller form *vip*,[2] had a sexual meaning; that it is used for receiving seed, conceiving, and so also for sowing, procreating; this sense is probably connected with the quick motion of shaking or throwing out as in sowing. There is also a Bactrian word *vip* for sexual intercourse, and another *vipta*, used of a male lover. Further, in Sanskrit *vapra* is a seed-field, and *vapanam*, seed. As Deecke has already indicated, however, to deduce *wîp* from this sense of *vip* is hardly in accordance with the assumed passive function. Still, starting

[1] As we have seen in A.S. *maga* is womb and so blood-relative, but with the notion of kin comes that of power; *maga* is *potens*, and *maegeð* is might, and so to maiden. The power of reproduction, of giving birth, is the symbol of all power; the chief deity in the mother-age is the Earth, as All-mother, and every tribal deity is a goddess of fertility, *e.g.* χαμύνη as name for Demeter.

[2] Sanskrit *vip* is tremble, shake, O.N. *vîfa*, O.H.G. *weibôn* is shake, vibrate.

from the sexual standpoint as that of the primitive savage, we may, however, look at a similar root, *swang*, which occurs in O.H.G. *swengen*, and our English *swing*. We find the O.H.G. glossed *vibrare*, *quassare*, to shake and to quake—a rapid, flapping motion, exactly expressed by *vip* and *weipon*. But immediately derived from this root is *swangar*, Modern German *schwanger*, used of the pregnant woman, while *schwängern* is to impregnate, which may possibly throw light on the sexual sense of *vip*. Now the first sure sign of pregnancy is the quickening, the first moving of the child in the womb, a quaking, vibrating feeling, which has been described by those who have experienced it as "like holding a small, live bird in the hand." Indeed, the primitive value of quake seems to be identical with quick, and to signify the giving life to.[1] It is this rapid, fluttering, quaking motion, which is the notion in *swangar*, that I conceive also to be the primitive notion in *wîp*. *Daz wîp* is that which quickens, and, as in the case of several other names for woman,[2] I assume the womb to have given its name to the wife. Thus the neuter gender and *wîfman*—*i.e.* womb-man—become intelligible. It is noteworthy that as the root *wip* may be associated with words denoting wrapping up as well as rolling, flapping, and flowing motion (*vaefan*, *weban*, *wälzen*, *welle*, *wave*, *weave*, etc.), so Latin *vulva*, *volva*, womb and wrap, appears to be

[1] M.H.G. *quëc*, O. Fries. *quik*, *kuik*, denote young cattle. Is it possible that Aryan *g'eltâ*, Sanskrit *jarta*, Greek δέλτα, Gothic *kilthei*, for womb, is also related to the Aryan root *gelvo*, shudder, shake?

[2] I may add to those already cited the Breton *gwamm* (=womb) as a term of contempt for woman.

related to *volvere*, to turn, roll about, perhaps even as *wîp* to *weibon*.[1] Finally, with regard to *wif*, three Anglo-Saxon words may be noted, namely, *wîfþing*, glossed *coitus*, *wîflag*, glossed *fornicatio*, and *wîfung*, *matrimonium*. It is clear from these that *wîf* has no special relation to matrimony, and that the attachment of the monogamic relation to one of the words is a purely arbitrary development. Indeed, the first word seems to lead us again to the primitive *vergaderung*, the *conventus ad generandum* of the old group-marriage. We may, then, safely conclude that the term wife in no way takes us back to primitive patriarchal institutions; it did not have its origin in an age of weaving or of trembling brides, but it arose from a purely physiological aspect of woman's sex-functions.

(2) Turning to the corresponding male names, we have as correlatives of wife, *mann*, *hûsbond*, *wirt*, *hûswirt*, *gomo*, *charal*, all glossed *maritus*, *conjux*. But there is nothing philologically to mark the married man in any of these, and, with the possible exception of *charal*, they do not in any way mark man's sexual functions. They denote man primarily as a human being, *vir*, *mas*, or they refer to his domestic position or occupation. Originally they refer to any man,[2] and only with the development of a new social system have they been specialised for the monogamic male mate. Another series of words as correlatives to wife, namely, *kone-man*

[1] It is even possible that *vagina* may be related to the root *vag*, which appears in *vagus*, and denotes swerving, wavering, wagging, notwithstanding the change in the value of the vowel.

[2] Thus *hûsbond*=*hûs-bûand*, the one living in the house. In Norway the corresponding *husmand* has been specialised for the cottager, but never for the male mate.

ehe-man, pruti-gomo, shows us that there was no primitive word for husband, and that *man* and *gomo* were far from originally conveying this idea. We see indeed that the words ultimately adopted for the male and female of a permanent monogamic union originally signified on the male side no sexual function at all, and on the female side a far more general sexual function—namely, the simple act of reproduction without regard to any individual male.

(3) The next word of relationship to which I pass is *mother*—Sanskrit *mâtr*, Latin *mater*, Greek μήτηρ, O.H.G. *muotar*, *môdor*, and English *mother*. According to the philologists the fundamental root is *mâ*, signifying first consider, think, and then build, prepare, plan, produce. Thus Jakob Grimm holds the mother to be the thinking, the planning one, and Deecke the managing, the ordering one; both derivations suppose a fairly complete home organisation, and a developed system of abstract ideas, as preceding a name for one of the most primitive and obvious relationships. From the anthropological standpoint, recognition of a concrete fact precedes the formation of an abstract idea; and the patent fact about the mother is the production of the child; that she plans and thinks for the household is a much later conception. Such activity might be a function of womankind in general, but it is difficult to see why it should have been specialised for mothers in particular. Still more remarkable is it, if mother signified originally the thinker, that the word should have been transferred at a very early date to the female of animals and to the womb. In opposition to Professor Skeat, I think there

is evidence to show an original sense of produce in the root *mâ*, and that the notions of mould, measure, and plan really flow from this.[1] In other words, *mâ* is to be given much the same weight as *mâc* in its relation to *gamahhida*. As evidence of the notion of production rather than that of planning in forms from *mâ* allied to mother, I would cite the Russian use of *matka* for the female of animals, and the use of the same word in the Oberlausitz for queen-bee. Then we have in Greek the short forms *μαῖα* for midwife, nurse, or mother, *μαιάς* for midwife, and *μαιεύομαι* for playing the midwife. *Majus*, *May* may possibly be the producing, fertilising, but can hardly be the thinking month. Greek *μήτρα*, Latin *matrix*, and *maczernica* in the Oberlausitz, stand for womb. Greek *ματρύλη*, for a bawd, is probably for *μητρύλη*. In Sanskrit *mâtrikà* is womb, mother, and nurse. In O.H.G. *môter* is glossed both *vulva* and *matrix*, while in M.H.G., as well as in all Teutonic (including Scandinavian) dialects, *muotor*,

[1] If it be objected that we are again returning to the primitive sexual instinct, it must be remarked that this seems anthropologically the correct direction in which to turn, and that the manner in which some writers reduce sex-words to asexual origins must be considered as unscientific. Thus sex-functions were facts requiring names long before an abstract notion of pleasure—probably ultimately based on sexual gratification—was formed. The concrete instance first gives a name to the abstract, as when 'cakes and ale' stand for festivity, warmth and sunshine for gladness, and restful quiet for pleasure. As an instance of the opposite method of procedure, we may cite the treatment of *geil* in Grimm's *Wörterbuch*, where it is asserted that the primitive notion of the word was pleasure and the derived notion lust, while its use for parts of the male or female organs of sex was only incidental. Yet we find in Old High German such glosses as *keili, petulantia carnis* and *geil, libidinosus;* in A.S. *gál* is glossed *libido* and *wlfgal, libidinosus*, while *giella* is used in O.H.G. for concubine, and in a variety of long separated dialects the root is used to mark the complete male animal, or its virility. That the root was used also for festive meals or gatherings (as in the Old French *gale*), wild peasant dances, and the licentious students who attended such festivities (*geilhart* and *golliard*), is not to be wondered at if the meal and dance of the old *conventus ad generandum* be borne in mind.

or its cognates, are used (equally with *bär-* and *gebär-mutter*) for the womb; and further, for openings and spaces into which screws, bolts, and other bodies pass. In English, Landsmaal, and Dutch, simply, and in Germany as *mutterbeschwer*, we find *mother* used for the sexual passion in woman. In Sanskrit *mâtárâu*, a dual for both parents, as well as in Latin *maternitas* and *matrimonium*,[1] it is very difficult not to see a primitive sexual productivity emphasised long before an organising or thinking activity.

Granted the idea of production in the term *mother*, we may still question how it is related to other cognates from the root *mâ*. Here a brief digression into mythology may possibly be suggestive. The earliest deity appears to be identified with the untilled Earth; to the savage, not yet developing primitive forms of agriculture, the swamp, mud, mould, dirt, are symbols of fertility;[2] their apparently unassisted reproduction strikes his mind. The male is not directly, or at least emphatically, associated with the offspring. Mother Earth springs from chaos, and her first children have no known father. A trace of such a goddess is to be found in most Aryan cults. Then with the growth of agriculture the notion of seed planted and generating becomes prominent, and is connected with sex-functions. Mother Earth is replaced by, or develops into, a goddess of fertility and of agri-

[1] This word must be primitive, for it marks an original mother-making as the source of matrimony. It exactly expresses the earliest Teutonic notion of group-marriage as a mother-making. In later days marriage became a *bedecken*, a *connubium*, or *coverture*, as in 'unter eine Decke kommen,' *i.e.* get married, and finally an *ehe*, *conjugium*, wedding, yoking, or pact.

[2] Notice that Frigg's house is termed *Fensal*, swamp-hall, and that Frigg was a goddess of chaotic fertility.

culture, and the tilth becomes the symbol of sexual union.[1] Demeter and Freyja are of this type, and a fossil is to be found in the *Kornmutter* or *Roggenmutter* of German peasant tradition. This corresponds to a period in which the mother is the titular head of the group, and during which mother-son dual deities, as well as the *Matrae* and other goddesses of hearth and home, appear. Such a period only could originate the ideas expressed in *muttersprache*, *mutterwitz*, and *mutterland*, μητρόπολις, and μητροκωμία. As the Sanskrit *mâtar*, denoting not only mother, but mythologically the Earth, is characteristic of the earlier period, so *mâtâputrâu* in Sanskrit and *moed'gin*[2] in Old Norse used to denote the pair, mother and son, is characteristic of the latter stage. From the first stage we may note such a word as Latin *materia*, English *matter*, the substance, probably looked upon as Mother Earth, from which all things were made. In much the same sense we have *moder* in M.L.G. for slime, and in various dialects *mott*, *mode*, *mudde*, till we reach English *mud* and its extension *mudder*, *mother*, sediment. It is singular that in English, Dutch, Scandinavian,[3] and German, the cognates of *moder*, dirt, slime, have all been confused with the corresponding cognates of *mutter;* and it is difficult to believe that this is a mere chance coincidence, and that there is no root-connection between the two series as there is between

[1] Compare Sanskrit *ulva*, womb, and *urvârâ* (for *ulvârâ*), tilth. The symbolism remained through the Middle Ages; for example, the queen in the Märchen, *Das Eselein*, says: "Ich bin wie ein Acker, auf dem nichts wächst," to mark her barrenness. See first footnote p. 122, and quotation p. 207.

[2] Also *moed'gna* denotes mother and daughter.

[3] In Landsmaal *mor* is mother, and not slime, but stuff, material, as in a mass of stone.

materia and *mater*. But it is clear that in *materia* we have the stuff useful for production, and *mâ* is used in the sense we require it in *matrix*, and not in the sense of planning.[1] Nor is this notion of the mother as the *moulder* infrequent, and it is a use which clearly shows why the term for mother is so readily transferred to the womb. Thus in Nassau the people say of a woman in reference to childbirth :—

Wenn eine Frau gemacht hat ;[2]

and Shakespeare writes :—

> My wife comes foremost ; then the honour'd mould
> Wherein this trunk was framed.

From this conception of maker or moulder or mould, we pass to a series of words deduced from secondary forms of *mâ*, namely, *mad* and *mal*, and denoting moulds, vessels, and ultimately measures, *e.g.* Gothic *mat*, O.H.G. *multra*, M.L.G. *molt*, M.H.G. *mulde*, Latin *modus*, and English *mould*. The conception, however, of fitting, planning, measuring, seems to follow, not precede, that of production.

The mother appears in primitive times as the moulder of raw material, the maker of new life, and not as the planning and organising member of a complex household. Early man noticed how his dead comrade mouldered away to earth, and he did not hesitate to identify the primary with the final process—his goddess of fertility was also a goddess of death.[3] This primitive

[1] I hold that there is not evidence enough to justify the root *mu* as at the basis of the *mother*=slime, words.

[2] Kehrein, *Volkssitte in Nassau*, Bd. ii. s. 173.

[3] See pp. 168, 175, 342 footnote, and 352 footnote.

conception of the forming of new life out of *materia*, so to speak, is well illustrated by the legend of Jehovah moulding Adam out of clay, and is fossilised not only in the 'Earth to earth' of the Anglican burial service, but in a still more remarkable *Troparion* of the Greek service, which runs:—

> O yawning Earth, receive him who was formed of thee at first, and returns now to thee his Mother.

Here we have Mother Earth, the primitive goddess of fertility, symbolising by her processes the productivity of every human mother as indicated in the relation of *mater* to *materia*. We are amid conceptions immensely more antique and far more universal than are involved in the mother of the Aryan household as she has been sketched for us by the philologists.[1]

(4) Before we leave the ideas associated with *mother*, it is well to turn to a number of co-radicates, which are to be found in nearly all Aryan tongues. An early development of a monogamic or patriarchal marriage might have been expected to give rise to a clearly marked terminology for the mother's relatives. On the other hand, in the case of a kindred group-marriage we should expect to find much less division between the mother and her sisters, for with regard to the community at large, they are all members of the same sub-group.[2] It is precisely this want of clear demarcation which we

[1] The identity of the mother with the woman, not the house-director, is evidenced by Lithuanian *mótė*=woman generally. Again Sanskrit *ambá*, mother, is simply Greek *νύμφη*, young woman, bride.

[2] It is noteworthy that in the antique festival of the *Matralia*, the matrons are reported to have prayed for their sisters', not their own, children, a fossil probably of praying for the children of the whole group of *Muhmen*. I expect

actually find. Modern German for the mother's sister is *muhme*, equivalent to the Latin *matertera*. In O.H.G. it is *muâma*, *mome*, practically only a variant of *mama*. In Plattdeutsch, *môme*, *mum*, is, however, used of mother;[1] thus the Devil's mother is termed *des dübels möme*. The *Kornmuhme* was doubtless also a goddess of fertility, and with the Devil's dam a fossil of a mother-goddess of the Demeter type. The appearance of *muhme* as mother in such antique expressions indicates its primitive weight. In early Low German documents *mome* is repeatedly used in the sense of mother; thus, *grotemome* for grandmother, *hundemome* and *eselmome* for the female of dog and ass; while such expressions as *ackermome* and *viehmome* show the term in general use for women engaged in agricultural pursuits, especially for the headwomen on a large farm. *Wisemome* stands for the midwife, and should be compared with Sanskrit *mâtrikâ*, for mother and nurse, and Greek μαῖα. The Sanskrit for mother's brother is *mâtrkâs*, which would suggest that *mâtrkâ* had stood for mother's sister. In High German itself we find the use of *muhme* for mother's sister somewhat loose, and it is readily extended to any relative through the womb. Thus Geiler von Kaisersberg speaks of the children of sisters as *mumen*,—a use well in accord with kindred group organisations. It was further used for foster-mother and nurse, and as in Low German for the chief

that the prayers were offered for the *nepotes*, originally denoting (see p. 219) all the children of the group; but the primitive significance of this word being lost, it came about that the women were supposed to pray for their sisters' children, their nephews and nieces. Bachofen's interpretation (*Das Mutterrecht*, p. 32) is, I take it, much too artificial.

[1] See, for example, the Märchen, *Dat Mäken von Brakel*, Grimm, No. 139.

maid on a farm. Luther writes in his *Table-Talk* of one "der seine mutter und sonst fünf mumen gar auszgesogen," which reminds us at once of Heimdall and his nine mothers (see pp. 142, 235). In A.S. we have *môdrige*, *môdrie*, and in O.H.G. *muoterjâ*, O. Fries. *medder* and *moye*, all used much as *môme*. *Muomunsuni* stands glossed *consobrini*, cousin-german on the mother's side. The serf, *mumbling*, shall follow, we are told, the nearest of his mother's relatives within the proscribed degrees of marriage,—evidence for the ancient mother-custom of descent.[1] Lastly, we note that the sexual freedom of the old group of mothers is still shadowed in the early glosses *amasia* for *môme*, in its use for students' concubines, and in the term *muhmenhaus* for brothel,—another link to the many which connect that resort with the *frauengadem* of the old group-dwelling. In these words, then, for mother's sister we find evidence again of the old sex-customs, and of a group of females hardly distinguished in name from each other, and all termed *muhme*, *môme*, or *mamma* by the children of the next generation.

Probably closely related to *môme*, *mama*, is *amme*. This in O.N. stands for grandmother, in Swabia and other parts of Germany it is used for mother, but more generally it signifies one who gives suck, the foster-mother, and simply nurse. Possibly, like *môme*, it was

[1] Perhaps one of the best and yet least recognised fossils of this custom from the root *mâ* is to be found in the word *matriculation* from Latin *matricula*, a public register or list. This is only the diminutive of *matrix* signifying in succession, womb, mother, stem, and descent, and is then used of a list in which originally the descent was stated. The reader may note also how *progenies*, descent, and *progenitor*, ancestor, are probably primarily associated with the producing of the *mother*. Cf. O.H.G. *chonat* from *kone* glossed *genealogia*.

applied to any female of the group, *i.e.* any woman of the mother's kindred, not necessarily the mother herself. It appears in *hebamme* as midwife, and so may be compared with Greek *μαῖα* and Sanskrit *mâṭṛka* (mother, nurse, grandmother, womb). It ought, however, to be noticed that in O.H.G. *amme* frequently appears as *anna* and with the aspirate *hanna*, thus *hefhanna* glossed *obstetrix*. Such a form would suggest a connection with the root *gan*, to produce, and so lead us to the same round of ideas as we have followed from *mâ* to *môme*, if *amme* be thus not directly related to *mamma*. The aspirate is, however, peculiar to O.H.G. although co-radicates are common in all Aryan tongues, *e.g.* Spanish *ama*, nurse, mistress of the house, *amo* master, Languedoc *ama*, grandmother, Gaelic *am*, mother, etc. One would prefer to connect O.H.G. *ano* and *anâ*, grandfather and grandmother, Modern German *ahn*, with *anna*, *amme*, rather than with *anan*, to breathe, as the expired ones.[1] Their origin, however, is very obscure.

(5) We now pass to the paternal relationship. According to the accepted theory, this relationship in Aryan civilisations receives its terminology from the root *pâ* which has the sense of feed, water, look after, as of cattle; thus we have Latin *pasco*, and the *pa* in *pabulum*, *panis*, and Greek *πατέομαι*, feed. In Gothic the word *fat'an* might be expected, but it has not been preserved; we have, however, *fodjan*, to feed, to rear, and *fodeins*, food. In O.H.G. *fôten*, *vâten*, *fuoten* is to *fodder*, fatten, cram, while *fôtar*, *vuoter*, *vâter* is

[1] So Deecke *loc. cit.* p. 214.

the fodder, the food. These Wackernagel connects with *fadar*, as other philologists *pater* with *pasco*, *pastor*, and *pasture*. As the protector and feeder of the herds is their ruler, so the father is said to be the feeder, ruler, protector of the household. In this sense the whole round of cognate Aryan terms—Sanskrit *patar*, Latin *pater*, Greek πατήρ, A.S. *fäder*, Gothic and O.S. *fadar*, O. Friesian *feder*, etc., is interpreted as signifying that the father was originally the patriarch, the feeder and ruler.

Now the notion of ruling in *pâ* seems to be secondary to that of feeding, and, as I have indicated, the appetites of food and sex are the primary facts of primitive human life. May we, then, take it that the father received his name from the fact that he was the feeder? It could scarcely be that he was the feeder of the child; in the first years of life and generally for long after, the mother fulfilled that task. Was he, then, the feeder of the household? Hardly this, for as a general rule among primitive peoples the women collect and cook the food; they do what simple tillage there may be, and bruise and cook the grain. Very often indeed if the man hunts and brings his quarry home, it is *tabu* to the rest of the household. It is difficult to conceive that the central fact of the relationship of father to either child or household would in primitive times be his provision of the food. It is certainly hardly consistent with the part played by men in the early kin-groups. That the kin-chief developed into ruler and protector, as *kuninck* and *župan*, is fairly clear, but to assert that civilisation had already reached this stage when the name father was specialised, is to demand a

high degree of development antecedent to the use of a term for the paternal relation, and further to neglect the argument as to date which arises from the great diversity of Aryan terms for patriarchal ruler. On these grounds it seems to me that the notion of father as feeder of the household must be rejected, and that we must again turn to the sexual conception to find the origin of the word, even if in so doing we are charged with having only a midwife's horizon. Such is, in truth, largely the horizon of the primitive savage, whose conceptions we are tracing. Nor are we without the warrant of philological parallels; the Armenian *hayr*, father, is possibly derived from a root corresponding to *hî*, beget; the Greek φύτωρ, father, is similarly associated with φύω, and the word *parent* has a like origin.

Accordingly we may ask, whether any trace of the sexual idea is to be associated with the root *pâ?* The reply must be in the affirmative. The Sanskrit *patis* denotes a spouse, Greek πόσις, has the same meaning; πότνια is *kone*, queen, and mistress. Latin *potens* and *impotens* carry with them the notion of sexual virility and its opposite. We have also πηός, παός, kinsman, and Latin *paro* in *paricida*, marking an Aryan root *pâsos*. Possibly connected with the root *pâ* are Sanskrit *pásas*, Greek πέος for the female organ of sex; and Greek πέος, Latin *penis* (? for *pesnis*), M.H.G. *vasel*, A.S. *faselt* for the male organ. Noteworthy in this respect is the O.H.G. *fasel* for *proles*, offspring. Further, Gothic *fôdjan*, O.S. *fôdian*, O.H.G. *fôtjan*, M.H.G. *vâten*, O.S. *fuddan*, have the sense of fill, feed, and, according to Schade, of *gebären*.

This is certainly true of Old Saxon *fôdian*, which is used in the sense of bear, produce, in the *Heliand*. O.N. *foeða* is procreate, as well as bring forth; and Swedish *föda*, Danish *föde*, are both to nourish and to bring forth. In such words there appears to be a fossil of an old meaning of the *pâ* series, namely, to feed or fill in a sexual sense—a conception retained by Milton in the lines:—

> Zephyr with Aurora playing,
> As he met her once a-maying,
> There on beds of violets blue,
> And fresh-blown roses washed in dew,
> Filled her with thee a daughter fair,
> So buxom, blithe, and debonair.

Or, by Shakespeare,[1] when he writes in *Measure for Measure*:—

> Your brother and his lover have embraced:
> As those that feed grow full, as blossoming time
> That from the seedness the bare fallow brings
> To teeming foison, even so her plenteous womb
> Expresseth his full tilth and husbandry.

If we take the primitive sense of *pâ* to be *fill*, we see how the notion of *pabulum*, fodder, and the conception of father as φύτωρ arises. There is still a further series of words to be noted. Most of the German writers identify *vuoter*, food, and *vuoter* in the sense of *futteral*, sheath, case,—in other words, the 'fill' and the filled. Now the Gothic *fodr* is sheath, *vagina*; O.H.G. *fôtar*, *fôdar*, A.S. *fodder* are *theca*, envelope, sheath. Mediæval Latin *fodrus*, Italian *fodero*, are both occasionally

[1] In an allied sense when he makes Adriana complain in the *Comedy of Errors* that her husband "breaks the pale and feeds from home."

used with the sexual significance. In the fifteenth-century *Fastnachtspiele* there is a good deal of obscene play on this double meaning of *vuotar*, and the term *vuotar-wanne* for the female organs of sex carries us at once to Milton and the conception of *pâ* in the father series. One further word must be noted: M.H.G. *vut*, Icelandic and Norse *fuð*, Modern German *fud* and *fotze* for the female sex-organs.[1] Schmeller connects *fud* with O.S. *fuodan*, as Fick connects *pâtra*, Sanskrit for vessel, holder, with *pâ*, nourish, feed.[2] It would thus simply be equivalent to *vuotar*, the sheath. We thus see the original value of the *pâ* or father root, to lie in 'fill,' developing on the one side into fill with food, and on the other with child, the two primitive savage conceptions. The 'fill' value of the root is borne out by two series of words denoting the 'fill' or fodder, and the filled—*vagina*. If this view be correct, the primitive Aryan father must not be looked upon as one having special relations to the household, still less to the child, but as simply a lover of the mother—a φύτωρ.[3]

(6) As we have found a special name for the mother's sister almost interchangeable with the name mother itself, so we find there is one for father's brother closely related to father. This is Sanskrit *pitrvjas*,

[1] The word *fud* is used for woman in Bavaria without any double meaning, also *gefüdach* for womankind. In the Tyrol it is still used, but contemptuously. In Allgau *födel*, contracted into *fél*, is still retained in use for woman.

[2] Possibly an *r* has been lost, *i.e.* *vutr* for Gothic *fodr*, as A.S. *faðe*, father's sister, for *faðre*.

[3] In another widely-spread Aryan word for father, Greek τάτα, Bohemian *tata*, Welsh *tad*, English *dad*, Bavarian *tatte*, and Westphalian *teite* (see the Märchen, *De beiden Künigeskinner*), we do not find any definite idea of paternity. Thus Sanskrit *tâtas* is friend, Greek τέττα is a term of affection used by a youth to his elder; while the corresponding Sanskrit form *tâta* is used by parents and teachers to children. Bavarian *tattl* is any old man, from the deity to the village dotard.

Greek πάτρως, Latin *patruus*, A.S. *fädera*, O. Fries. *federia*, O.H.G. *fataro*, L.G. *vedder*, M.H.G. *vetero*, Modern German *vetter*. Originally these words stood for father's brother, but then we find the sense extended to *patruelis*, father's brother's child, and ultimately to cousins. It seems to me that *feteron* was probably the title of all the adult males of the *gamahhida* group in relation to the children, as *mômen* stood for the adult females. But the males who were *feteron* to the children of the group, were *vetter* in the modern sense among themselves; hence the double and somewhat confusing sense of the word. Even to the days of Luther we still find *vetter* used in the sense of father's brother, alongside its use for father's brother's son. As strong evidence that *feteron* were a group of co-fathers, I would cite the Anglo-Saxon law as to *halsfang*, a penalty to be paid to the near relatives of one who had been killed. "Heals-fang gebyreð bearnum brôðrum and fæderan."[1] "Halsfang belongs to children, brothers, and *feteron*." Here it is hard to conceive that the paternal uncle is included to the exclusion of the father, but rather *bearnum* stands for the younger, *brôðrum* for the contemporary, and *fæderan* for the elder generation. This view is confirmed by the use of the phrase *binnan cneôwe* for the same group, for the relations *intra genu* certainly included the father.

Another remarkable use of the word, which again suggests the primitive value of *feteron* as the co-fathers of the group, arises from the use of O.H.G. *gavatero*, A.S. *gefaedera*, O. Fries. *fadera*, Danish

[1] R. Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1858, p. 394.

fadder, and Modern German *gevatter* for godfather. Ninth-century glosses give *gavatero* for *compater*, and *gavatera*[1] for *commater*, godfather and godmother. It is singular that these terms, which can only be strengthened forms of *fetero* and *faedera*,[2] should have been chosen at such a comparatively early date for the Christian sponsors. Indeed the Middle Latin *compater* and *commater* look much more like a translation of *gavateron* than *vice versa*. Some light on this point might be obtained from a study of the early use of *compater* and *commater*. In one respect their use differs very widely from modern godfather and godmother; the latter terms mark a relationship between the sponsors and child, the former precisely as *gafatero* and *gafatera*, mark a relation between sponsors and the child's parents. Thus the *Lex Langobardorum* (ii. 8, § 5) expressly defines a *commater* as *commater* to one whose child she has taken from the font, or to one who has taken her child from the font.[3] A decretal of A.D. 614 (*Lex Canonica*, Pars II. Causa XXX. Quaestio i.) orders that a man shall not continue to live as husband with his wife, if she has by mischance acted as godmother to her own child. The wife is spoken of as the man's *commater*, and in Modern German *gevatterin* would translate it, but clearly not English *godmother*. Thus the *compatres* or *gafateron* are much closer and more familiar relations than godfather and godchild,—they belong, as a rule, to one and the

[1] The feminine is not such an anomaly as it might first appear, if *pā* (as in *fōdian*) be conceived as having attained the meaning reproduce, bear, as well as procreate; thus we have Gothic *fadreins* for both parents.

[2] Compare Friesian *fedria*, *fetha*, father's brother, with *faedrum*, *fatherum*, godfather.

[3] This sense was accurately retained for many centuries in the *Lex Canonica*.

same generation. In this sense *compater* and *gafatero*, or *gevatter*, are used as terms of address between equals where there is no spiritual relationship, or at least where no stress is laid on it. Thus in M.H.G. comrades in the fight address each other as *gevatter*, and Isengrîn the wolf calls Reynard the fox *gevatere!* The dog is *gevatter* to the wolf in Grimm's Märchen, No. 48; the fox and the wolf, *gevatter* and *gevatterin* in No. 74; and the *gevatterschaft* is a pretty widely-spread relationship among the characters in *Der alte Hildebrand* (No. 95). Hugo von Trimberg and many mediæval writers use *gevatter* in the sense of English *gossip* and French *commère*, for intimates and even scandalmongers.[1] The former idea of intimacy is probably retained in the term *Gevatter Tod*. It may be said this use of *gevatter* is only a degeneration of its use for a spiritual relationship, which marked a much closer intimacy in the Middle Ages than it does to-day. I am inclined, however, to believe that more weight must be given to the origin of the term in the *feteron* of the primitive social group. In this respect the frequent association of *vetter* and *gevatter* as terms for intimates, and the fact that the earliest—ninth-century—*gevatter* gloss is *givatarun, commatrem spiritualem*, are suggestive for both the original *gavateron* and the original *commatres* or *compatres* having also had a non-spiritual meaning.[2] Bearing in

[1] Low German *vadder* is *compater*, *vadderkols*, gossip, *vadderspel*, nepotism; while *vaddersche*, *commater* is even used to render Latin *nutrix*.

[2] The terms *compater spiritualis* and *commater spiritualis*, which Ducange cites from an early date, would appear to illustrate the existence of a non-spiritual *compater* and *commater*. The earliest use of these terms would certainly appear to be Germanic. Thus they occur in the *Lex Langobardorum* and in a cartulary of Karl the Great. The Council of Mainz in A.D. 813 speaks of *compatres*

mind what has been said of the mediæval *frauengadem*, —as remaining as a fossil of the sexual license of the old kin-group,—it is somewhat noteworthy to find the term *commatres* used for young women living in the houses of bishops and priests about 1300, whose conduct created scandal, while the term to go *ad commatres* seems to have been used in a still worse sense. Ducange gives instances of *compater* being used for *sodalis*, *amicus*, and not in a spiritual sense;[1] and a particularly important case of the date 855, in which *compater* actually denotes the father's sister's husband, is also cited by him. Such a use is quite intelligible if the *compatres* were originally the males of the kin-group, sharing bed and board; it becomes quite obscure if the term *compater* was a term originally devised to cover the spiritual relationship.

Turning back, indeed, to heathen times we find associated with the exposure of children practices closely akin to Christian baptism. The new-born child in Scandinavia was either taken to the father, or left on the floor (*golf*) where, according to ancient custom, the mother had given it birth, for its fate to be settled. If the father took it to his breast or raised it from the ground, its life was preserved, otherwise it was exposed. If the father accepted the child, he was asked how it should be named; he then poured water over it and gave it a name. Occasionally he left this ceremony to one of his near kin, who then named and 'baptized'

spirituales, and the same words are used by the Council of Worms in 868. The term *patrinus* also appears to have a Germanic origin,—it is used first in a charter of Pipin (A.D. 752)—and, as I have hinted in the text, I expect *compater* as well as *patrinus* to be late Latin translations of *gevatter*.

[1] Note also how French *parrain*, godfather, is used for a second in a duel and for any intimate friend; also *un bon compère* = a merry fellow.

the child. This same heathen 'baptism'—with the naming of, and the pouring water over, the child—existed also in Germany.[1] We find both German and Scandinavian heathendom fighting hard on the advent of Christianity for this right of exposure, and there can be little doubt that the heathen ceremony of infant baptism influenced the Christian. It was precisely the males of the old kin-group who would be concerned with the preservation or exposure of a new life; they took upon themselves the responsibility for it, and hence the name *gavateron*, originally equivalent to *fateron*, was very naturally adopted for the Christian sponsors and name-givers of the new-born child.[2] It would appear that Boniface must have written to Gregory III. about this heathen baptism, for we find that Pope writing in reply that such baptism is to be held invalid.[3] Ecclesiastical decrees of a later date forbidding any persons to assert *compaternitas*, because they have poured water on the linen or swaddling clothes of the infant, appear also to be directed against a heathen survival.[4] Brother Berthold, so late as 1250, preached against baptismal practices of an apparently heathen origin.[5] The earliest account we have of Christian baptism, Tertullian's work against Quintilla,[6] shows

[1] See Weinhold: *Altnordisches Leben*, pp. 260 *et seq.*, and *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, ii. p. 95.

[2] A good deal of the *gevatter* folklore thus becomes intelligible, *e.g.* the proverb, *Wer bei seiner ersten Gevatterschaft ein uneheliches Kind hebt hat Glück zum heirathen*, may be taken to mean that he who becomes one of the *fateron* in a kin-group (*i.e.* where the children are 'fatherless') will have the favour of the women or join in the old *hi-rath* (see p. 137).

[3] Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, iii. s. 91.

[4] See Ducange under *fasciatorium* and *compaternitas*.

[5] J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, Bd. iv. p. 325.

[6] See *Opera*, Lyons, 1675. *De Baptismo*, A.D. 160-200.

us that originally the ceremony concerned in the first place adults, and Tertullian refers only in Cap. 18 (fol. 231) to child baptism as an undesirable thing. He mentions it as introducing a new danger owing to the need for *sponsores*. The term *compater* is not used. It would thus appear that infant baptism was unusual in Tertullian's day. We may therefore, I think, conclude that the growth of infant baptism was largely favoured by Germanic heathen customs—the Church adapting, as in so many other cases, what it found already existing to its own usages. If that be so, the special characteristics and the folklore of the Teutonic *gevatter* may alike be taken as illustrative of the *fateron*, or group of fathers of the old kin-community.[1]

(7) If the terms for mother's sister and for father's brother originally stood for any of the women of one generation, and for any of the men of one generation within the kin-group, then we should not expect any

[1] In the Saxon Laws, Ine (before 694) has *godfæder*, *godsunu*, Æthelræd has (*circa* 1008) *gefæderan*, and Canute (*circa* 1026) uses the same word. The exact meaning of *god* in *godfather* and *godmother* is very open to question. It is hardly *god*, *deus*, as Skeat, for example, among many writers suggests. O.H.G. *gota* is *admater*, *commater*, godmother, and *gölti* is *adpater*, *compater*, godfather; *gotele* is *filiola*, goddaughter. From the Middle Ages we have *gott*, *paternus*, *gottin*, *maternus*, *göttlein*, *filiolus*, and *götla*, *filiola*, in fact, the whole of the Anglo-Saxon *godsib*, modern *gossip*. The words are still in German dialect use, *der göd* is the godfather, *die godl*, the godmother. *Godl* is, however, frequently used of the goddaughter, and indeed of any girl whatever. *Göttenlöffel* is the 'silver spoon'; *gotteit* is *gevatterschaft*. This obscure O.H.G. *goto*, *gota*, has been associated with *goting*, *tribunus*, *sacerdos*, (possibly also found in the place-names *Göding* and *Göttingen*), and with Gothic *gudja*, Icelandic *godi*, priest, judge. However this may be, the source of *god* in god-parents is not the obvious one of *god*, *deus*, but in all probability dates from some hitherto unelucidated heathen notion involved in the O.H.G. names *goto* and *gota*. In this respect it seems of significance that *götta*, godfather, appears to be a derivative from *gota*, godmother. The heathen goddess *Frau Gode*, who can be traced throughout large districts of Germany, must also be borne in mind.

very definite names with cognates in all Aryan tongues for mother's brother and father's sister. Only when exogamy succeeded endogamy as the ruling custom would such names become necessary, and such change in custom hardly preceded the origin of the Aryan names for relationship. This expectation is justified in so far that the Teutonic words for mother's brother and father's sister do not find co-radicates of the same sense in all Aryan tongues. Further, their significance in the Teutonic dialects is itself very variable, and their primitive sense by no means clear.

The word for mother's brother is O.H.G. *ôheim*, M.H.G. *ôheim* and *ôham*, A.S. *eâm* for *eahâm*, O. Fries. *em*, M.L.G. *ohm*. The O.H.G. *ôheim* is glossed *avunculus*, maternal uncle, and *hôheimes sun*, *consobrinus*, cousin-german through the mother. Probably the word has the same root as Latin *avus* and Gothic *ava* (grandmother), but the source of the word is very obscure, and its Gothic form, which might have been of assistance, has not been preserved. In late German, at any rate, the word is applied to father's brother and father's sister's husband. Comparatively early it is used of the sister's son or nephew, and then for other blood-relatives. In the second or exogamous period of the matriarchate, the mother's brother plays an important part,[1] and it is noteworthy that the two chief uses of *oheim*, *i.e.* for mother's brother and sister's

[1] One among many fossil indications of this occurs when Brunhilda in the *Nibelungenlied* gives her castle and lands in charge to one *ir hôhsten mâge* (*er was ir muoter bruoder*), when she leaves for Worms. He is to look after it until her husband can come and manage it. Ultimately, of course, the latter will in turn be succeeded by her daughter's husband. Compare Creon's relation to Oedipus.

son, correspond to the first heirs of a man under mother-right custom.[1]

The most widespread German word for father's sister is O.H.G. *basa*, L.G. *wasa*, and Modern German *base*. In O.H.G. we find *basa*, *wasa*, and *pasa* all glossed *amita*. In Modern German its use has occasionally been rather wide, thus Luther uses it for father's brother's wife, and in Low German we find it used even for mother's sister. Dialect uses show a still more general value. An old woman I knew, who used to sell wine in a tower at Lorch on the Rhine, was termed by the whole neighbourhood (in 1879) *Sette bas*, she being a public character on account of her having seen the Russians cross the Rhine when the Allies marched on Paris. In Bavaria the term *basl* is applied to any *married* woman, especially if she be old, and the term *basele* to any not fully grown girl. The origin of the word is very obscure. Grimm appears in favour of a derivation analogous to the Norse *faster*=*farsyster*, and would equate *basa* and *fadarsuestor*. Graff, Deecke, and others connect *basa* with *bôsam*, *bôsm*, English *bosom*. Thus *gebusamen* is glossed *consanguineos*, blood-relatives. According to the patriarchal system of these writers, the father's sister is the one who takes the motherless child of her brother to her bosom. But *bôsam* in this sense denotes bosom, lap, relationship through the womb. In O. Fries. *boste*, N. Fries. *boaste* is marriage, and O. Fries. *bostigia*, N. Fries. *boostgjan* is to marry, and *boesen* to kiss. This certainly does not

[1] That the *oheim*, like the *muhme*, originally belonged to a sub-group of the kin-group is supported by the Zend *brâtûirya*, for *oheim* as well as *muhme*.

accord with the exogamous period of the mother-age, during which the conception of the father's sister would, on our theory, begin to be developed. It would accord, however, with *basa* having originally stood for a name for some of the group women[1] in the endogamous period. Without being able to explain the origin of the word, we may remark that the folk-feeling with regard to its weight is very different from the affectionate atmosphere which surrounds *muhme*, and approaches in some respects that attached to *gevatter* and *gevatterin*. Thus *bäseln* is to chatter, gossip in a bad sense. The *basen* are, in popular opinion, wrinkled, ugly, aged spinsters who sit, spin, and spread scandalous stories. Above all, it is they who raise a 'philisterhaftes Zetergeschrei,' when any one does not do what is exactly customary. Thus *kaffeebase*, *klatschbase*, *baserei*, *philisterbaserei* are all names the reverse of complimentary to the *base*, and not finding their equivalents in any ideas associated with French *tante* or English *aunt*. There is certainly nothing in the word to give any weight to a patriarchal conception of the primitive Aryan family. It would seem to represent some class of women in the community, whose age and position rendered them responsible for the maintenance of social tradition and custom.[2]

In A.S. *fæðe*, *fæðu*, in O.F. *feté*, in L.G. *vade*, *fede*,

[1] For example, elder sisters or elder female cousins, whom there is some evidence to show were first separated from sexual relations with their younger kin. In many languages, for instance, there are different words for younger and elder sisters, and the latter are treated with far greater respect.

[2] Perhaps Friesian *bês*, Dutch *baas*, Norse *bas*, English *boss*, master, overseer, deserve to be considered in relation to *base*.

in M. Dutch *vâde* were used for father's sister, aunt, and are probably obtained by the loss of an *r* from *faðre*, *fetre*, or *fetere*. At the same time, Gothic *faþs*, master, used chiefly in compounds, as in *bruthfaþs*, bridegroom, must be taken into consideration. *Fedethom* appears used in M.L.G. for the offspring of father's sister, as *fedriethom* for that of father's brother. As to the history and development in use of these words, I can find nothing of real value.

(8) Having considered aunts and uncles, we may now pass to nephews and nieces. If these had no definite and clearly conceived existence during the period of kindred group-marriage, we should expect to find, as in the case of uncles and aunts, considerable confusion in the nomenclature, which would not be explicable had the patriarchal family been the earliest type and formed the basis of the Aryan terminology for relationship.

The primitive form of the root is here suggested by the Sanskrit *nápât*, descendant, son, grandchild. The signification is apparently the one who is not (*na*) a spouse or master (*pátis*); perhaps, remembering the sense of the root *pâ*, it might also be rendered the *impubes*. It will be seen at once that there is in this no trace of the modern nephew idea. We have exactly what we should expect in a group with two broad divisions, the young, not yet spouses, and the adults with a communal marriage. We find also Sanskrit *nafsu*, offspring, grandchildren, *naptjam*, family; Old Persian *napât*, grandchild; Greek ἀνεψιός, cousin, nephew,

νέποδες, descendants; Latin *nepos*, descendant, grandchild, nephew; Gothic *niþjis*, *niþjo*, cousin; A.S. *nëfa*, grandchild, nephew; O.H.G. *nefo*, glossed *nepos*, *cognatus*, *sobrinus*, *i.e.* any collateral womb-relation, or, indeed, any blood-relative;[1] O.H.G. *nift*, glossed *neptis* and *privigna*, niece and stepdaughter; M. Dutch *neef*, grandchild, cousin, nephew; M.H.G. *nëve*, relative, cousin, *nëveschaft*, cousinship, *niftelîn*, granddaughter, niece; M.L.G. *neve*, grandchild, nephew, or niece, *nichte*, *nichteke*, granddaughter, niece; Old Norse *nefi*, offspring, grandchild, nephew, *nepi*, a brother, *nift*, a sister, and also a bride. Now all these diverse meanings, even to the last—brother, sister, bride—are intelligible on the basis that the *νέποδες* were originally the offspring of the kin-group—offspring[2] to some, nephews or nieces to others, cousins, brothers, sisters, and ultimately spouses among themselves. The children of the *gamahhida*, they will ultimately form a *gamahhida* among themselves. They are the *impuberes*, while the others are the *conjuges;* they are the young and the others the old, the *eltern;* they are the *enkeln*, O.H.G.

[1] In an old mediæval vernacular Christmas church ritual, the Virgin Mary terms Joseph *lieber neve mein*, and Joseph the Virgin *liebe mueme mein*. In the *LambacherPassionsspiel* John also addresses Maria as *liebe mutter vnd mume*.

[2] That the offspring is the sister's son is also evidenced by old Irish *níae*, son of a sister, *i.e.* not of a brother. As I have pointed out, the ancient gods—created in man's image—marry like their makers, and when we have passed the stage of no known fathers, of the mother-son dual deities, we reach that of brother-sister marriage—Freyr and Freya, Niördr and his sister, Zeus and Hera, Cronos and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno, Janus and Camisa, Osiris and Isis, and many others in the mythologies of much less civilised peoples. Nor does brother-sister marriage occur in mythology only. Besides its frequency in Ancient Egypt and Modern Madagascar, we may cite its occurrence in the Celtic hero-legends, *e.g.* Caibre Musc and Duben, Conchobar and Dechtere, Medb, Ethne, Clothru, and their three brothers, the latter appearing to be a kin group-marriage.

enenkel, *eninchil* for *aninchli*, the little *ano* or *ahne*, which we have seen applies to their older ascendants.[1]

(9) As we have already dealt with *brother* and *sister* as words containing general evidence of the primitive kindred group-marriage, we may now pass to the terms for son and daughter.

One of the first desires of the parents of a new-born child is to ascertain its sex. Is it a boy or a girl? This must be at once announced to the community. The nomads of Central Asia indicated the sex by placing spear or distaff at the entrance of the tent. The Greeks put an olive wreath for a boy and wool for a girl at the door of the house. The South American Indians place a weapon for a boy and a spindle for a girl. The negroes of New Guinea a bow for the son and a stir-about stick or cooking-spoon for the daughter. The ancient Chinese marked the male birth by a bow to the left, and the female by a girdle to the right of the door. The Dutch indicate by the colour of a silk pad fastened to the knocker the sex of the new member of the community, and there is little doubt that the glove formerly seen on English doors originally indicated by its colour or position the same thing. The routine and festivities which, in all parts of the world, follow birth take their character and magnitude from the sex of the new-born child. The sex is thus seen to be of first importance, not only to the parents, but to the

[1] Compare *öhmchen* for niece. I doubt the objection raised by Grimm to this derivation, namely, that the *enkel* is not a 'little forefather.' Clearly the niece is not a 'little uncle,' yet she is termed *öhmchen*. The term *ano* being applied to a particular group in the community, it was not a long step to term little *anan*, a group of the same constitution which had not yet reached maturity.

social group of which they are members. It is the first question to be answered, and at that early stage the answer is only to be obtained by reference to the primary sexual characters. "It is a son, a seed-giver," says the primitive midwife, or "It is a daughter, a suckler," as the case may be.

In Sanskrit the root *su* denoted primitively pour out, wet, squeeze out juice, as in *savam*, water, and *sûnas*, river. But it has, in addition, the sense of beget, procreate, whence we have *sûnus*, the son, the begetter. The co-radicates are Gothic *sunus*, O.H.G. *sunu*, A.S. *sunu*, O.N. *sonr*, English *son*, German *sohn*, and probably Greek *υἱός* for *συιός*. Some writers have held that the *su* in *sûnus* denoting procreate, the son is the procreated. Against this must be remarked the almost universal use of the word for the male offspring. Sanskrit *sutâ*, daughter, appears to come from a past participle, and so to mean the procreated. The *sûnus* series is, however, to be connected with a present participle *sunvant*, procreating.[1] The same root occurs in other words, one or two of which are sufficiently suggestive for our present purpose to be mentioned. Thus Sanskrit *sûtu*, pregnancy, Old Irish *suth*, the fetus, Greek *σῦς* (*ὗς* in Homer), a hog or wild boar, Latin *sus*, O.H.G. *su*, O.N. *syr*, Modern German *sau*, English *sow*, where there appears to be a transition first to either male or female, and then to the female only. The procreative capacity of the pig is obviously the source of the name, the animal itself from Scandinavia to Greece being a

[1] That son and daughter originally stood for boy and girl simply, and not for a relationship, is in keeping with the Celtic tongues, which have no name for son and daughter as distinguished from boy and girl.

symbol of fertility, or a metaphor for sexual license. Another interesting word is the Greek ὗειν, probably for σύειν, to rain, with the notion of the rain as a fertiliser. Thus Bacchus was termed ὗης, probably as a god of fertilising moisture; while Ζεὺς ὗης reminds us of the golden shower with which he fertilised Danaë. Possibly the same idea of creating, fertilising moisture is retained in the Sanskrit *sômas*,[1] the mysterious drink of the Vedic gods, whom it animated to great achievements. To the same root also ὑμήν, hymen, the god of love and the song of love, may probably be ultimately traced, thus carrying us back in the root *su* of *sunu* to that kin-gathering with its common meal, songs, and sexual license which has so often reappeared.

As we find the idea of *su*, beget, leading to *suna*, son, so the same notion in *pu* leads us to *pusus*, *putus*, and *puer*, a boy. Sanskrit *putra* is a son. If Latin *puer* be for *puter*, as Grimm suggests, then again it is the procreator which is emphasised. The origin of *puer* would thus correspond to φύτωρ from φυ, and, on our theory, to *patar* from *pâ*. All signify the male begetter, but the former *in potentia*, the latter two *in esse*. The Teutonic form is *buobe*, *bube*, at first sight only the male procreated, but in Alpine *bua* = *liebhaber;* and in the forms *buhl*, *buhle*, lover; *bûl* = *amica*, *meretrix;* Swiss *bühli* = Kirmes-mistress, dance-partner on May Day; *buhlgabe* = *morgengabe;* *buhlgesang* = *hîleih*, etc., pointing to the procreator and the sex-festival.

Turning now to daughter the cognates are: Sanskrit *duhitâ*, Persian *dokhter*, Greek θυγάτηρ, Gothic *dauhtar*,

[1] Compare Sanskrit *sûmas*, water, milk, moisture; Greek ἐράω, to pour out, and ἐράω, to love sexually, ἔρος, love, desire.

O.H.G. *tohtar*, M.G. *tochter*, O.N. *dôttir*, A.S. *dohtor*, etc. The Sanskrit root *dug*, or *duh*, is to milk in either the passive or active sense, as in *milchen* and *melken*. Swedish *däggja*, Danish *daegge*, Gothic *daddjan*, are to give suck, while English *dug* is the nipple of the breast. In Sanskrit *dúg'â* is a cow, *dóhas*, a milking or milk, and *dôgd'rí*, a cow or nurse. From these cow-words, without apparent co-radicates in the other Aryan tongues, arose the idea of the daughter as the milker of cows in the pretty theory of the happy patriarchal life of the primitive Aryans. This idea, that the terminology for daughter awaited the discovery of a peaceful occupation for her later years, has now been given up by most philologists (not, however, by Skeat), but it serves to mark the want of anthropological instinct in the philologists of the last generation. As the son is the begetter *in potentia*, so the daughter is the suckler, the mother of the future —a far more primitive concept than that of cow-milking.

(10) I shall now pass to some remarks on the Teutonic words for relationship by marriage. Such words differ widely in most Aryan dialects, and this is sufficient to indicate their late origin.[1] Many of the Aryan words suggest a very different primitive sense to their present, and several have clearly been perverted from their old kin-group significance to suit patriarchal institutions. I must here, however, confine my attention to some peculiarly German terms, as my space is limited.

German *eidam*, A.S. *âþum*, and Fries. *âdum*, appears connected with *eid*, oath. The son-in-law is the *oath-*

[1] Clearly, if the patriarchal system had been a primitive Aryan one, the names for such relationships ought to have been co-radicate, for they must have been needed at an early date.

man, not the *bloodman*. He is the man whose *treuwa*, peace, or *sibbe*, is not preserved by his blood-link, with its sanctions of blood-feud and blood-vengeance, but by an oath of peace which he has taken to the kin, so that he ceases to be *unsibbe*. For him marriage is not a right of kin, but a pact, an *ehe*, and he is an *ehemann*. This name *eidam* for son-in-law probably arose when exogamy was becoming the rule, but the woman remained within her own kin-group, a form of marriage largely illustrated by the German Märchen, and equivalent to the *beena* marriage of the old Arabians.[1] The same notion of sworn relationship is probably to be found in the Swedish *sväramoder*, *svärafader*, *svärадotter*, etc. Here, although the ultimate root may have been the same as that of Swedish *svoger* and German *schwager*, there has been undoubtedly assimilation to *svärja*, swear, owing to the conception of the son-in-law as the sworn-man. It is noteworthy that *eidem* is used in M.H.G. for either father-in-law or son-in-law; this double use was very probably much older, and simply marks the sworn relationship of the two.

From the chief Germanic root for relationship by marriage no terms whatever exist for children-in-law till we come to the late compounds *schwiegersohn* and *schwiegertochter*. These facts must be borne in mind when we come to sum up the origin of this relationship. Turning to other Aryan tongues we find considerable diversity of words, with very significant roots. Thus we

[1] Grimm connects *eidam* with a root *ei*, related to *ju*, bind (as *jug* in *jungere*) and equivalent to Sanskrit *jam*. He would thus connect *eidam* directly with Sanskrit *ǵâmi* for *jâmi*, daughter-in-law. This leaves the dental quite unexplained, the primitive notion in both may be *bind*; but the bond in the German word is that of the oath, and in the Sanskrit that of sex.

have Sanskrit *gâmâtri*,[1] Greek γαμβρός, Latin *gener*, for son-in-law. The base idea here seems to be simply that of the begetter, the procreator, the root being *jam*, *gam*, with the sexual weight, as in Greek γαμέω and Latin *geminus*. In Lithuanian the word is *źentas*. Thus, while the German word *eidam* points to son-in-law as an exogamous relation, there is nothing in the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin words inconsistent with endogamy, *i.e.* with the *gener* being originally one of the *gamahhida*, the kin-group.[2] Indeed there is a good deal to be said in favour of it. Greek γαμβρός has the usual vagueness of a word which has been specialised from a wider primitive sense; for, besides son-in-law, we find it used for father-in-law, sister's husband, and wife's brother, and then still more generally for *bridegroom*, *wooer*, *suitor*.[3] Sanskrit *ǵâmi* for daughter-in-law is used also for sister. Lastly, Lithuanian *gente*, *gentere*, sister-in-law, can hardly fail to be connected with the Scandinavian *génta*, merely signifying girl or young woman, appearing O.N. *genta*, Swedish *gänta*, Landsmaal *gjenta*, and Norwegian *jente*.

This identification of a word used primitively for young woman with a marriage relationship occurs in cognate words. Thus Greek νυός, daughter-in-law, is used for any female connection by marriage, and further for a bride or a wife. The word is probably a corruption of συνσός. Latin *nurus* (=*snurus*), daughter-in-law (Italian *nuora*), is used by Ovid of any young

[1] Zend *zâmâtar*, son-in-law, and *zâmi*, birth, may also be noted.

[2] That the son-in-law was originally from the kin seems to be evidenced by the Gothic *mêgs*, Swedish *mâgr*. See p. 139.

[3] Early and dialect usage.

married woman. In Low Latin *nurus* is used for *νυμφίος*, *sponsus*, or bridegroom, and *nura* for daughter-in-law; this use of *nurus* has almost certainly a basis in an older sense of the word. The Sanskrit is *snushâ*, Czech *snacha*, A.S. *snora*, O.H.G. *snur* (also, be it noted, glossed as *noverca*, stepmother), and Modern German *schnur*. According to Schade, the Albanians use *νούσεja* for daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, and *any newly married woman*, while *νουσερία* is the period of a woman's life between marriage and the first confinement (? pregnancy). Various origins of the word have been suggested, all more or less unsatisfactory. Kuhn would have us believe that *snushâ* = *sam-vasâ*, the cohabitant, or one dwelling with her parents-in-law; this result assumes the exogamy, and also the existence of patriarchal custom, among the primitive Aryans. According to Fick, *snusâ* perhaps stands for *sunusa*, the 'sonness' or female of the son; and, as suggestive of this source, Old Slav *synocha*, Polish *synowa* (from *syn*, son), and Swabian *söhnerin* have been cited. It is difficult to see how the wide-spread use of the word for any young married woman could then have easily arisen, for it may be taken as a universal rule, which we have seen exemplified in many instances, that words of kinship and sex begin with a very wide and general sense and are afterwards specialised. Lastly, we have Weber's deduction from an Aryan root *snu*, meaning to flow. Thus Fick has *snevô*, *snau*, to drip, wet, flow, connected possibly with which is the Gothic *snivan*. This root is certainly in accordance with the primitive weight of *snur*, as merely the young woman or bride. It might account also for the

curious Albanian *νουσερία*, while it is consistent with the great part which the sexual life of the woman plays in early folklore.[1]

Another term for daughter-in-law undoubtedly shows the patriarchal exogamous system. This is Sanskrit *vadujâ*. The root *vedhô* and Lithuanian *vedù* signified bring, lead away, and ultimately marry. Thus Sanskrit *vadujâ* (and *vadhû*) is also beast of burden, so that the notion of leading appears to be that of the bound or captive kind. Sanskrit *vadhû* is young woman, bride, young wife, daughter-in-law, and in Zend *vadhemnô* is bridegroom. Welsh *ar-wedd* is glossed *gerere*, and *dyweddio* is marry. Very suggestive is Lithuanian *wadóti*, to redeem a pledge. Welsh *gwaudd* and Cornish *guhit* stand for daughter-in-law, and so does Lithuanian *wedekle*. Besides these, Whitley Stokes notices Welsh *gwaddol* and Greek *ἔδνον* for a gift to the wife or to her relatives,[2] probably originally a price for the rape. The forcible character of the 'leading' involved is evidenced by the cognates which are rendered *ducere* and *dux*, *e.g.* Old Slavonic *voditi* and *vozdi*.

We thus see two chief sources of the idea daughter-in-law—the one, in the great majority of Aryan tongues, arising from the idea merely of a young marriageable woman, and probably known in the endogamous period;

[1] It is possible that a similar notion occurs in O.H.G. *huora*, O.N. *hôra*, English *whore*, which Grimm connects with the root *har* in the sense of flow. The origin of the word would thus be no more evil than that of *hexe*, with which indeed it is closely connected by a series of folk-proverbs, such as *jung eine hure, alt eine hexe*. The word originally would signify any young woman, the freedom in matters of sex attached to the word arising from the traditions of the old group sex-freedom. Fick would connect *hure*, not as Grimm with the notion in *har*, flow (and Sanskrit *ǰaru*=Gothic *hôrs*, adulterer), but with *ku*, desire, yearn after. See p. 179).

[2] Compare the primitive sense of pledge in Anglo-Saxon *wedlâc*, English *wedlock*.

the other, much less common, marking an exogamous origin for the daughter-in-law, the capture or purchase of the bride. For son-in-law we have the endogamous notion, the bridegroom as a mere procreator, or even as *mêgs*, one of the kin, and the exogamous, but still matriarchal, notion of the son-in-law as of the kin by reason of his oath. He is the man who lives in his wife's home, as the lucky Hans of the Märchen.[1]

Passing now to parents-in-law, we find one main root —hardly yet satisfactorily dealt with—running through most of the Aryan languages. This root is exhibited in German *schwäher*, father-in-law, *schwieger*, mother-in-law. In Gothic *svaihro*, mother-in-law, is used thrice of the wife's mother, and once of the husband's mother;[2] and *svaihra*, father-in-law, once of the wife's father. O.H.G. *swehur* and *swigar* are glossed *socer* (once *levir*), and *uxoris mater*, *socrus*. In M.H.G. we find *swëher*, contracted into *swer* and *swir*, for father-in-law. In Bavaria *schwiger*, *die schwega* are used for mother-in-law, *uxoris mater*, and *socrus*, while *schweher*, *schwer*, *der schwega* are used for *pater uxoris*, *socer*. Swedish *svära*[3] is mother-in-law. Old Slavonic *svekru*, Russian *svëkoru* stand for wife's father-in-law, *e.g.* husband's father, so also the Lithuanian *szesziuras*. Polish *swiekier* is used both for wife's and husband's father. This appears to be the case with Latin *socer* (for *svocer*), Italian *suocero*, Greek ἑκυρός (for σϝε-

[1] Or Oedipus, who, for a *riddle-solving* service to the state, gains the queen and kingdom. The queen retains 'equal sway,' however, and the brother is the 'peer of both,' and therefore feared by the king. See *Oedipus Tyrannus*, ll. 579, 581, 378, 631, *et seq.*

[2] *Jah bruþ viþra svaihron izos* (Matt. x. 35), *i.e.* the bride against her mother-in-law. The Greek has νύμφη and πενθερά.

[3] *Swer* and *swiru* occur in Norse runes (see pp. 224, 231).

κυρός), Welsh *chwegrwn*, Sanskrit *çvaçura*, for father-in-law, while the corresponding words, *socrus*, ἑκυρά, *çvacrûs*, for mother-in-law, are used for both husband's and wife's mother. It would be interesting to ascertain whether these words have not in their earliest usage a bias towards either husband's parents or wife's parents exclusively. It is quite clear that in an exogamic matriarchal marriage the wife's parents, and in an exogamic patriarchal marriage the husband's parents, would play the chief part as *the* parents-in-law. In either case their relations to the young couple would be somewhat different, and we should not unnaturally have expected different names for the husband's and the wife's parents-in-law.[1] The apparently nearly equal weight for both husband's and wife's parents of the *svekr* terms, as well as their widespread use throughout the Aryan languages, might suggest that they arose in the endogamous group-period, when monogamous unions within the group were becoming the rule, but the parents of both mates were on a nearly equal footing within the group.[2]

It cannot be said that any satisfactory account has been given of these words. Bopp and others have deduced *svaçura* from *sva*, own, and *çuras*, the hero, the strong one, as in Greek κῦρος, authority, κύριος, master, and Old Irish *caur*, *cur*, hero. But, besides the difficulty of tracing the second word in other than the Sanskrit and Greek forms, this origin

[1] It would be of considerable value to ascertain, if possible, whether Greek ἑκυρός and ἑκυρά, father- and mother-in-law, and πενθερός and πενθερά, father- and mother-in-law, were ever specialised in this manner.

[2] Slight evidence that the mother-in-law was originally of the kin may perhaps be found in Lithuanian *anýta*, mother-in-law, clearly related to *anà*, female ancestress, Greek ἀννίς, grandmother.

appears to leave the terms for mother-in-law unaccounted for, although in several cases they appear to be as primitive, if not more primitive, than the male terms; for example, Welsh *chwegr* and Cornish *hwegr*. Anthropologically, also, we should expect the mother of either mate to appear before the father, and this view is favoured by the Welsh *chwegrwn*, which suggests, as Whitley Stokes has pointed out, *svekr-unos* as the base form. Here the *unos* would be an affix corresponding to that in *sobr-inus* or *uter-inus*, and it would be a meaning for the root *svekr* that must be sought.[1] Now this form corresponds closely to the Teutonic form for brother-in-law, and, with much hesitation, I am inclined to hold that possibly the words for parents-in-law are deduced from the term now used in Teutonic lands for brother-in-law. There is much to be said against this view. In the first place, there is no word for brother-in-law connected with either Latin *socerus* or Greek ἑκυρός: in the next place, Sanskrit actually forms a derivative, *svakurjas*, for brother-in-law;[2] and, in the last place, the Celtic languages seem to use for mother-in-law a term most closely corresponding to that for brother-in-law in the Teutonic languages. But against these weighty objections must be set the following:—

(i.) The Teutonic *schwager* is far more extended in

[1] Latin *socrus* for *soccrus* appears to have been originally of either gender, and suggests the same idea. Against this view, namely,—that the brother-in-law is primitively a person of more weight than the parents-in-law—may be urged the formation of complimentary words for father by marriage, as in the case of French *beaupère*, and Teutonic *stiuffater*, stepfather, *pater honoris causa*, as Schade neatly expresses it. Note also the use in Scotland and Northumberland of goodfather, goodmother, goodsister, etc., for relatives-in-law.

[2] This might possibly be compared with the origin of *königin*, from *kŏning*, and ultimately from *kone*.

its meaning than either *schwäher* or *schwieger*, and appears in many cases to cover father-in-law as well as brother-in-law, and indeed a variety of relationships in more or less degenerate forms.

Thus in M.H.G. *swâger* is used for *sororius*, *levir*, *socer*, and *gener*; in O.L.G. *swager* was also used for either *socer* or *gener*, and indeed for any other *verschwägerte* person. In Bavarian dialect *schwager* is brother-in-law, *geswagerlich* means related sexually, either by marriage or by 'Unehe'; while *schwager* in general is used as a term for some friendly relation, thus the driver terms his fare, and craftsmen of allied trades term each other, *schwager*.[1] In Anglo-Saxon *sweger* is mother-in-law, *sweor*, father-in-law, Old Swedish *svaer* is father-in-law, Old Norse *sver* is mother-in-law. In Danish we have *svoger* for brother-in-law, while *swiger* attached to *fader*, *moder*, *datter*, etc., gives all the relatives-in-law. Old Friesian and Dutch *swâger* are both brother-in-law and son-in-law.

Turning now to shortened forms we have O.H.G. *swio* for brother-in-law, O.H.G. *gaswio*, M.H.G. *geswie* for relatives by marriage, brother-in-law and sister-in-law particularly; M.H.G. *geswige* is the sister's husband; *gsweyen* in Bavaria denotes children of sisters (*consobrini*), *der geschwie*, the father-in-law, and *die geschwein*, the wife's brothers. Still more generally in Old Saxon *suiri* stands for cousins, and in Anglo-Saxon

[1] The Bavarian terms *schwaig* for an alp or cattle-pen, with *schwaiger* for its owner, and *schwaegerin* for its tender, the *sennerin*, might possibly throw some light on the meaning of *swig* in the old group-kindred days of the *hag*. Or, is O.H.G. *sweiga* for cattle-pen merely equivalent to mediæval Latin *soca*, *soga*, a measure of land, and Greek *σηκός*, *σακός*, a pen for cattle, an inclosure?

geswirja for sister's son. We may also note Anglo-Saxon *suhterja*, brother's son, nephew, and *suhtorfädera*, parents-in-law, possibly for *svihtorja* and *svihtorfädera*, and so connected with the root of *swehor*.[1]

Now, whether the series of words in the last paragraph has arisen from a primitive *sweh* or *svih*, or has an origin independent of the *svekr* series, it is very difficult to believe in the face of such widely extended meanings as these words certainly have in early Teutonic dialects, that the whole terminology for relations-in-law should have arisen as derivatives of the term for father-in-law.

(ii.) The use of the *svekr* terms in Lithuanian, in Russian,[2] and other Slavonic tongues for the husband's relatives points, so far as it goes, to the husband as the source of the *svekr* terminology, and this is supported by such a word as *geschwägert* for any connection by marriage, and by its limited and comparatively late use for son-in-law. The general weight of the *svekr* terms in the Teutonic dialects certainly seems to bear the impress of a word used for intimacy and familiarity on the same level, and accordingly, if the origin of the word is to be sought in *sva*, own, proper, intimate, familiar, I believe it must be in the relationship of brothers- and sisters-in-law. It is also true that *sva*, or its fuller form *svas*, peculiar, dear,[3] does lead to many terms for

[1] Hindustanee *sás*, mother-in-law, *susra*, father-in-law, may be connected with the *sve* root, but doubtfully with *svekr*. The female is here the primitive.

[2] In Russian *svojack* = *schwager*, *svěkoru* = wife's father-in-law, *svekrovi*, wife's mother-in-law.

[3] Compare Gothic *sves*, own, property. Then we have Aryan *svedhó*, to 'self,' to become use to; the *sved* co-radicates meaning good, sweet, nice, the *suavaum*, *consuesco* ideas, and lastly the *Fέθος*, Gothic *sidus*, German *sitte*, 'wont' notions.

relationship. We have already referred to the Teutonic terms *swâsman*, *swâseline*, and *swâsenede*; we may add Slavonic *svoja*, become intimate, whence *svatu* for relative, and Lithuanian *svotai* for the relatives who attend a marriage. Hence *schwager* may only be another method of expressing *swâsman*, the intimate man or brother. It is to a very intimate relation of this kind that we shall find other words for the brother- and sister-in-law connection directly lead us.

If we look back on the origin of endogamous monogamy in a kin-group, the first appearance of it would be heralded by the exclusive attachment, at any rate for a time, of a man of the group to a particular woman. He became her 'own' or 'dear' man, her *leofman*, *lêfmon*, *leman*, in the best sense of this last word. The leman was with more or less rigour *tabu* to the other women of the group, hence would arise the first traces of a brother-in-law relationship. The *leofman* stands in a new relation to the other women of the group, but not one which absolutely excludes traces of the earlier sexual communism. The same process that we have indicated here actually went on in the public brothels of the mediæval towns. The town councils repeatedly issued regulations against the public prostitutes having their *liebe männer*, their 'dear men,' with whom they were intimate to the exclusion of the public in general. Here we have the worse sense of *leman*. It is to such a specialisation of lovers within the group, an exclusive intimacy, that possibly the *sve* in *svekr* may refer, whether the *k-r-* stand for *kura* or not. From the *svekr* are deduced the *svek-r-uno*, or those

connected by blood with him. The correlative to father-in-law, namely, daughter-in-law or son-in-law, might then be expected to have a different and perhaps much later origin. I am fully aware of the many difficulties of this account, but I doubt whether they are more or harder than those which any one will meet with who starts from *svaçura*, the father-in-law, and tries, not only to deduce all the *svekr* terms from it anthropologically and philologically,[1] but by asserting the recognition in a position of honour of the husband's father among the primitive Aryans, will also have to overthrow all the evidence that can be collected in favour of matriarchal custom and kindred group-marriage.

We now turn to the terminology for brother-in-law and sister-in-law beyond that connected with the term *schwager* already referred to. For sister-in-law we have in Greek γάλοως, γάλως, with the Latin *glos*, both of these denote the *husband's* sister, the term—which is possibly related to γάλα, as *duhitâ* to *dadhan*—appears as Slavonic *zluva*, Czech *zelva*, but not otherwise.

We find another series of terms spreading through several Aryan languages, but not universally, namely, Greek εἰνάτερες, Latin *janitrices*, for the wives of two brothers. There is also a Sanskrit *yâter* (for *ynâter*) and Slavonic *jetry* for husband's brother's wife.[2] *Janitrices* is possibly only an attempt at εἰνάτερες, and we find it glossed ἀδελφῶν γυναῖκες. Isidore gives us a quaint derivation: "Janitrices dicuntur uxores duorum fratrum,

[1] For example, the use of *schwager* in Swabia for co-wooers, rivals for the hand of the same lady!

[2] Fick connects Lithuanian *gente*, sister-in-law, also with this root (see p. 225).

quasi eandem januam terentes vel per eandem januam iter habentes."

This, however incorrect, describes well the position of εἰνάτερες as *cohabentes* in the early Aryan days. The group-marriage is again suggested by the gloss σύννυμφος = *consponsus* = *janitrix*. Curiously enough, *consponsalis* is used in the sense of *commater* in the *Leges Presbyterorum Northumbriensum* cited by Ducange, which reminds us again of the link between the godmother and the co-mothers or co-brides of the group. Grimm connects εἰνάτερες and *janitrices* with the root *gam*, bind, as in γαμεῖν, but the origin seems very obscure. It is noteworthy that Polish *iatrew*, Czech *jatrev*, Serbian *jetrva*, akin to Sanskrit *yâter*, denote *cognata*, blood-relative, another trace of the kindred group-marriage. It may further be remarked that the children of the *consponsae*, or co-brides, would be *cousins*, Low Latin *cosinus*, Latin *sobrinus*, *consobrinus*, Sanskrit *svesrino*, Lithuanian *seserynai*, a series of terms which again point to a group of sisters as the co-brides. The Greek gives us ἀέλιοι for brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters. The only co-radicate I have come across is Sanskrit *syâlas*, said to be used for the brother of the wife,—again, so far as it goes, evidence of a group of sisters 'married' to a group of brothers.[1]

[1] In the Indian fairy tale of Punchkin (J. Jacobs' *Indian Fairy Tales*) we have just such a group of sisters marrying a group of brothers, with many traces of the old group habits, *e.g.* "About a year after this Balna had a little son, and his uncles and aunts were so fond of the boy that it was as if he had seven fathers and seven mothers," etc. Another Indian tale, *The Son of Seven Queens*, is also probably a fossil of the same group-marriage period. In Arabia the "two mothers" means the mother and her sister, and this was probably the origin of the term Διμήτωρ for Dionysius, however differently interpreted when its value had become obscure. Precisely the same thing

For husband's brother we have a word running through several Aryan tongues, and pointing to an Aryan word *daivér* as its source. Thus Sanskrit *devár*, Greek δαήρ (for δαϝήρ), Latin *levir*, Lithuanian *dëveris*, probably Armenian *tagr*, Anglo-Saxon *tâcor*, and possibly O.H.G. *zeihhur* (this may = *zuehir* = *suueher* = *sweher*, for it is glossed both *socer* and *levir*) are from this source, and denote husband's brother. The root of the word appears in Aryan *daidi*, denoting *share*, as in Sanskrit *dáyate*, Greek δαίω, whence δαίς, a meal, and English *tide* (time), German *zeit*, all marking a division or share.[1] It would thus appear that the original sense of *devár* is the husband's brother as *sharer*. With all the folklore and other evidence that we have for the existence of the *levirate* custom, both before and after the death of the husband, there can be little doubt that it is the wife that the share refers to.

Thus, whether we turn to the words for sister-in-law or brother-in-law, we find primitive meanings strongly supporting the hypothesis of kindred group-marriage, and very hard to reconcile with an exogamic patriarchal system. Further, the terms for son-in-law and daughter-

occurs in the Irish legend of Cúchulainn, who was the son of King Lug from his *sister* Dechtere, who shared his sleeping-apartment. The boy was reared by one of the sisters of his mother and of the king, and the king remarked that there was "little for her to choose between her own son and her own sister's son" (see Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 431). The German *geschwister* for brothers, sisters, and *cousins* tells the same tale. I expect Norse *systkin*, Danish *søskende*, now used for brothers and sisters, originally included all the children of sisters. In this respect the Danish *søskendeseng*, a rough bed rigged up on the floor for travelling companions, is perhaps not without suggestiveness for the old group customs: see my remarks in *Ashiepattle*, p. 80.

[1] Here again, as in the *mal* root, I am inclined to think that the sharing notion first led to a name for the common meal, and then that the notion of time arose from the meal epoch: see p. 146.

in-law are quite consonant with a derivation which supposes them specialisations of terms used inside an endogamous group. Lastly, the Aryan terms for father-in-law and mother-in-law are far more difficult of interpretation on any hypothesis, chiefly, I believe, because the source of the word used for the relationship (*i.e.* whether it be the father-, mother-, or brother-in-law) is far from clear. They do not, however, seem to me to offer greater difficulties on one than on another hypothesis as to primitive marriage. They require for their elucidation a more complete study than I have been able to make of the earliest passages in which they are used in the several Aryan tongues.

(11) I propose to deal with only one other word which has been used to suggest the completeness of the exogamous monogamic patriarchal system among the primitive Aryans, namely the term for *widow*. We have Sanskrit *vidhávâ*, Latin *vidua*, Gothic *viduvô*, Old Friesian *widwe*, O.H.G. *witawâ*, M.H.G. *witewe*, *wittib*, Dutch *widewe*, Irish *fedb*, Cornish *guedeu*, Old Slavonic *vidova*, for widow. It is significant throughout that the word in all these languages applies to the female, the male *widower* being formed from it. The primitive root appears in Latin *di-vido* and Sanskrit *vidh*, to be void, to want; Latin *viduus*, Sanskrit *vidhú*, denote lonely, isolated, *spouseless;* Welsh *gweddwi*, lonely, German *weit*, and English *wide*. The widow is thus the lonely or spouseless one.[1] Now there are many circumstances

[1] I think it impossible to accept the hypothetical derivation given by some writers from *vi*, without, and *d'avas*, a man or sacrificer. The latter term appears only in late and isolated Sanskrit use.

under which such a condition would arise within even a co-sexual kindred group, and from which the later idea of a widow as one who has *lost* her spouse would naturally develop itself, *e.g.* a woman past the child-bearing age and taking no part in the tribal sex-gatherings. This conception of the widow as the spouseless one seems to find support in the Greek ἠίθεος (for ἀ-*Fιθ*εF*ος*), meaning a youth not yet married, a bachelor in the modern sense; ἠιθέη is also used for παρθένος, a virgin. In this case it is not the loss, but the want or absence of a spouse, which is expressed by the *vid* or *Fιθ* root. Hence there appears to be no sufficient reason to associate the idea in *widow* with more than the weight of *spouseless*, and such a condition, as the Greek words suggest, could arise as well within an endogamous group, as in an exogamous patriarchal system.

(12) *Summary and Conclusion.*—The first general conclusion that may be drawn from our discussion of the Aryan terms for sex and kinship is its confirmation of the anthropological principle that the sex-instinct, as one of the two chief motors of primitive life, has been chiefly instrumental in creating, not only terms for relationship, but also terms for the chief human affections and desires. The standpoint of the midwife must in this case be the standpoint of the interpreter, because it is largely the standpoint of primitive man, the creator of these terms. Their very naïveté saves them from obscenity, and we cannot reject scientifically the midwife's interpretation because it clashes with our preconceived notions of a golden age in the past. We are civilised men, our ancestors were savages, and their most

distant forebears mere animals struggling for food and sexual gratification. Are we to suppose that language with its terminology for relationships and passions waited until those relationships were moulded in their current senses, and those passions refined and purified into the most social virtues and most complex affections? On the contrary, if we are genuine believers in the doctrine of evolution, we shall seek the origins of nomenclature in those fundamental animal instincts which have been the chief motors of evolutionary change. It is precisely in sex-calls and food-cries that we notice animals first giving to sounds distinguishable weights. Hence it is precisely here that we ought to seek the senses of primitive roots. We shall not then be surprised that so many roots have originally a sexual sense, and are by analogy or association afterwards used for wider household, agricultural, or social occupations.[1]

Accordingly, if we find in the sexual impulse not only the source of a developed terminology for relationship, but also the first germs of the social instincts in man, shall we not cease to regard it as "a most unlovely germ of appetite," and recognise it for what it really has been—nay, still really is—the ultimate basis of the very highest, as well as of the very lowest, phases in human action and human feeling? The spiritual man who lives in a world of *peace*, *gladness*,

[1] A similar evolution may be observed in the language of children. To my infant son I am *bappa*. But as his nurse used to put a red shawl over him when carried from his nursery to see *bappa* in the study, a shawl becomes *bappa*. A hat, which like the shawl covers his head, becomes also *bappa*; hence any hat, even in a picture, or any covering, as a lid of a box, is *bappa*. Next to put on a hat is to go out, hence to 'go *bappa*' is to go out in the mail-cart. The original shawl being red, red things, at least for a time, were *bappas*. Thus the original word has been developed into a complexity of meanings which no philologist could unravel who had not observed the successive stages of growth.

generosity, and *charity*, and despises from his ethereal heights what he is pleased to term the loathsome or disgusting animal instincts, may well be asked to ponder on the evolution of such emotions as *love* and *friendship*. The social virtues may in his imagination have arisen in many diverse ways, but the stern fact remains that among the Aryans they took their origin in the sexual instinct; and he must be a rash sociologist who would affirm that this primary instinct is even now incapable of producing any new social virtue.

In the course of our investigations we have come across fossils of several stages of sexual habit. These stages pass one into the other without a rigidly marked division, and the terms used in one stage remain in a later stage, often with modified, or perhaps quite changed senses. The first fundamental distinction is between groups which lay chief stress on maternal, and those which lay chief stress on paternal descent—groups which conveniently, but not with strict accuracy, may be termed matriarchal and patriarchal. The first group, without giving an all-dominant position to woman, still placed her in authority, directly and indirectly, in religious matters—the first deity was a goddess of fertility, and her ministrant a matron-priestess.[1] The fact that woman was then the conduit by which power and property passed from one man to another, also gave her an increased importance. Hence the term matriarchal without being exact is to a certain extent significant. Perhaps it is quite as significant as patriarchal, for

[1] The priestess is often identified with the goddess at the sex-festival, *e.g.* the Sakäes. Compare also the high-priestess at the Argive *Heraea* (see p. 171) with what Tacitus tells us of the worship of Nerthus, a Teutonic Earth-goddess.

there are stages in the patriarchal evolution where the patriarch has to serve for his wife, or to pay serious respect to her rights or deities.

Starting with an early stage of the matriarchal period, we find the woman as *kone*, surrounded by the offspring of her womb, *kunni*, *kin*, or *kind*. The primary and natural result is sexual relationship with those nearest in place and blood. We have at once the basis of that brother-sister marriage which looms through all ancient mythologies. Nor is this endogamous relation without advantages. An exogamous or monogamic relation could never lead to such a group as we find in the *fratria* and the *clan*. The kindred group-marriage provides a maximum of sexual tie between individual members, and of kindred tie between successive generations. What is within this group is the pleasant and the comfortable; the kin are the kind, the known, the noble, the free, those outside are the unkind, the unknown, the ignoble, the unfree. Peace (*sibbe*, *friede*), joy (*freude*), trust, faith (*trewa*), charity (*caritas*), freedom (*freiheit*), generosity, the moral and the ethical (*sitte*), are human feelings and attributes, all of which we can trace back to their origin in the sexual relations of a group of men and women of kin—the *mâcscaf*, the *gamahhida*, the *hive*. More than one word shows us the lair turning into the common dwelling-place, and this into a village. The community with its fenced abode is represented by the group of *gatilinge*, at once kinsfolk and co-spouses. From their intersexual relationship arise *love*, *neighbourliness*, and *friendship*, the conception of the genial, the convivial, the fitting,

and the good. The communal life which flows from their co-sexual life leads to words of sex receiving the additional senses of tilth, of building, of construction, and ultimately of art (*bau*, *tak*). The gathering (*vergaderung*, ἄγορα) for clan-meal and clan-talk is the first germ of civic institutions, of *mahal*, *gericht*, and finally of *parliament*. The choral mating-songs,—developed sex-calls,—which followed the clan-meal, lead to chorus, hymns, comedy, and tragedy on the one hand, and to most of the still existing marriage customs and habits on the other. Music, art, social virtues, civic rights, are one and all seen to take their origin in that ultimate sex-freedom of kin, which is opposed to every moral feeling of the civilised man of to-day. Even many features of his religious belief and his religious ceremonies can be traced back to the old kin-group worship of the goddess of fertility. The common meal, the drinking of blood to establish a *sibbe* or peace-kinship, the adoration of mother and child, the baptism and the god-parents, all have their prototypes and origins in the matriarchal period of human evolution. Nor is the product of that period only evidenced by Aryan words for sex and kinship, it is manifest in Aryan folklore of every kind; it is exhibited in the earlier history of all the other branches of the great human family; it is to be found in many phases of still existing savage life; nay, we may note isolated features of it still extant among the less advanced Aryan races of to-day. Among the Slavs we still find village communities having many of the features of the communal kindred group, and practising religious ceremonies which

some have held to be perversions of Christianity, but which are, in truth, the old Aryan worship of the goddess of fertility and tilth, only slightly disguised by the use of Christian terms and symbols.

Thus the Russian sects of the *Christs* and of the *Skoptsy* hold periodical meetings at which prayer is followed by the dancing and singing of men and women; the choral dance is itself succeeded by unrestrained license of the 'brothers' and 'sisters.' These meetings are often accompanied by the worship of the Holy Virgin, who is represented by a young woman. It is, in fact, the old heathen priestess representing the goddess of fertility.[1] She is sung to and danced round as Mother Earth, adored as the emblem of generative force, and the children she may bear to the men of the community are, as 'little Christs' and 'little Maries,' especially sacred. Among the sect of Christs the common meal is represented by the priestess distributing raisins, among the Skoptsy by an actual communion of her blood.[2] It is clear that only in name is there anything Christian in these gatherings; they are a survival of the old Aryan *vergaderung*, and correspond to the Semite festival of the Sakäes both in license and in cruelty. The same sex-festivals, here seen from their religious side, may still be traced in the fairs and periodic festivals of the Slavonic peasantry. In the Government of Nijnii-Novgorod we find the youths and maidens meet at periodical intervals upon a hill. After choral dances, the youths

[1] See footnote, p. 240.

[2] See N. Tsakni, *La Russie Sectaire*, Paris, 1888, for these and other details of sex-festivals in Russia.

carry off the maidens and pass the night with them; this conduct is so customary also in the Archangel district that a girl who finds no such temporary lovers would be reproached by her parents. In the Government of Stavropol this hilltop *vergaderung* repeats itself at every wedding; the young men and maidens, after the customary wedding dance, pass the night in pairs, engaged folk together, and the other young people in temporary couples. A similar habit prevailed among the peasantry in large districts of Germany almost up to the end of the Middle Ages.[1]

Thus we see that the Aryan sex-festival, with its common meal, its dance and song, which is so strikingly evidenced in our study of the words for kinship and sex, is no philological cobweb. It is fossilised in practices which we meet everywhere in folklore, and trace in many existing peasant customs. We are not dealing with local perversions of the sexual instinct; our study of the Aryan words for kinship shows that they are fossils of what was once a widespread phase of primitive civilisation. The sexual and the social institutions of that phase of human development may be wholly repellent to the morality of to-day; we may shudder at blood relationship as the permit and not the ban to sexual intimacy. But we must also remember that if exogamy promotes a wider range of variation for natural selection to act upon, endogamy may originally have established a sufficient degree of correlation between human characters to give mankind stability and the advantages of race. Above all, those human affections, those civic

[1] See Appendix I.: On the *Mailehn* and *Kiltgang*.

institutions and social virtues, which we now prize so highly as the most social features of our own civilisation, were undoubtedly the product—albeit in a primitive and crude form—of a period of kindred group-marriage, a period in which the animal instincts appear to us to have been all-dominant.

Shall we despair because we find all that man values as unselfish, pure, and noble—his love, his friendship, and his charity—have their origin in what some are pleased to term base and loathsome animal passions?

On the contrary, if we survey the past, and see what mankind, solely under the pressure of animal passions, has achieved blindly amid blood and struggle and unregarded pain, may we not confidently hope that the strong social instincts which have been evolved from, but which now dominate the more selfish and animal side of man's nature may carry him forward more quickly and more smoothly to still more complex stages of development? Out of the low came the high, out of the high may well come the exalted. Only those who dream that morality sprung fully developed from the brain of a deity can dread to learn its lowly animal origin, or fear to acknowledge that our current morality, social and sexual, may be as crude and repellent to the future as that of the matriarchal civilisation in its kindred group-stage now appears to us.

XII

THE GERMAN PASSION-PLAY: A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF WESTERN CHRISTIANITY[1]

For my part I never feel my liberal faith more firmly rooted in me than when I ponder over the miracles of the ancient creed.—RENAN.

I.—*Introductory*

WHILE a study of primitive human customs forces us irresistibly to the conclusion that the social characteristics, which men value most highly to-day, have been evolved in the course of long ages from very animal instincts, so a study of early religious beliefs shows us the source of the most highly developed religious sentiments in strangely barbarous habits and superstitions. If the first study demonstrates for us that morality is not the creation of moralists and teachers, but that the moral feelings have been evolved in that struggle of group with group which gave the victory to the more stable society with the more intense gregarious instincts, so the second study leads us from human sacrifice, cannibalism, and nature propitiation

[1] Extracted from notes for a course of lectures on mediæval German literature delivered in 1883, and therefore containing but few references to more recent publications on the religious drama.

through more and more social stages of religious feeling to the Eucharist and the doctrine of the Atonement. In neither case do we touch the absolute; the current religion and the current morality are not what the philosophers and theologians of the time describe them in their treatises; they are entirely relative to the habits and instincts of the great masses of the people. Nay, even the 'absolute' morality and the refined religious doctrines of the thinkers of one age are seen by the critical minds of a later generation to be but idealised forms of the folk-religion and folk-morality of the same period. The relativity to the age and to its special aspirations is still to be found if it be glossed with greater verbal subtleties, and if the popular trimming of creed to current economic and social needs be less grossly obvious. To the unprejudiced student of comparative religion, the Christianity of Jesus is as widely removed from that of Tertullian or of Augustine as these are removed from the Christianity of the Middle Ages. Such a dispassionate inquirer will find almost more unity of ideas, dogmatic and artistic, between mediæval folk-Christianity and modern Burmese Buddhism than between the former and the popular manifestations of Christianity to-day. The great lessons of comparative religion have, hitherto, been principally based on a study of oriental religions, and their comparison with Christian doctrines. But one of the chief of these lessons, the relativity of all religious belief to the social and artistic conditions under which the belief flourishes, can easily be learnt within the history of Christianity itself. From our earliest childhood the

gospels have rendered us familiar with the Christianity of Jesus; the experience of everyday life shows us the active elements in the Christianity of to-day. A study of the mediæval passion-plays will, perhaps, most easily, and with the least danger of wide misconception, bring before us an intermediate link in the chain of evolution. Thus the potent truth of the relativity of religious feeling may be recognised within the bounds of those impressions and beliefs which have been an essential factor in the development of our own western civilisation.

Nor is it from the standpoint of comparative religion only that a study of the passion-plays may prove to be of interest. The want of a deep sympathy with the past—that past which in its struggles, by its very failures as well by its successes, has achieved what we value most highly in literature and art—can never be fully compensated for by a knowledge, however complete, of modern thought and current literature. Our civilisation is the product of the past; its traditions and customs are the growth of the past; and without a sympathetic study of the past we cannot realise the richness of our own civilisation, nor appreciate its capabilities. One phase of our past growth is too often neglected, especially by the narrower school of Protestants. It is often assumed that the Middle Ages were Dark Ages, that Roman Catholicism was merely a superstition, hampering the forward movement of humanity; that Mediævalism has no intellectual value for an enlightened nineteenth century. Yet Mediævalism has, perhaps, even a higher claim than Hellenism to be

considered as an essential factor of modern culture. The Gothic cathedral is more a part of our western nature—nay, is in itself a greater artistic ideal—than the Greek Parthenon; for depth of intellect, St. Thomas Aquinas may be fairly spoken of in the same breath as Plato, and nothing in Greek literature exceeds in tenderness and beauty the mediæval devotional books, or in vigour and inspiring ring the Latin hymns of the Church. Those who do not understand and appreciate these things are to be pitied, even as those who have never walked the streets of Athens with Socrates, nor listened to the parables of the Bodisat "long ago when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares."

There should be no misunderstanding, however, as to what we mean by the mediæval factor in modern culture. The wise do not mimic the outward life of the Greeks. It is childish to strive for the reintroduction of mediæval forms into modern life. We cannot profitably bring back into this age of ours the religious guilds, the passion-plays, the great religious festivals; it is mere trifling to play nowadays at monks and priests. There are other calls to action, other opportunities of self-renunciation, other ideals for which to battle, the beauty of which is none the less real, if it be too often disregarded. The task of the mediæval student is not to reinstitute, but to justify; to prove to the Present that the Past did not for a thousand years toil in vain. The most enthusiastic Hellenist by no means strives to reconstruct nineteenth-century life on a Greek model; he is content if Hellenic thought permeates our intellectual habit, if Hellenic art is part of our plastic conception;

shortly, he desires that Hellenism shall be a factor of our culture. The true mediævalist can wish for no more, but he claims as much. It is no resurrection of the dead, no reversal of the theological current of the Reformation that he strives for. He believes that as the mind of man ponders more deeply and more often over "the miracles of the ancient creed," the broader will become his intellectual horizon; he will realise more completely the social origin of all creeds, their economic and moral genesis, and with this recognition of the relativity of religious belief the firmer will be the basis of his own liberal faith. The intellectual progress of the microcosm of the individual mind can lay no claim to completeness, if it has not passed in review the same phases as have been successively reached by the macrocosm—the mind of humanity at large mirrored in its intellectual history. M. Renan has said that it is heartrending to have to admit that the charlatan who has never studied the past can yet attain to "the Alpine heights of philosophy." But the strength of his hold, the permanency of his footing, may well be doubted if he has not had the experience which arises in the course of a laborious journey over the lower summits of past thought. The Protestant, who lauds the Reformation and abuses mediæval Catholicism without having once opened a fifteenth-century devotional book; the Freethinker, who condemns Christianity without having read a line of St. Augustine, or studied, even at second hand, the thoughts of the great Doctors; the modern Socialist, who has never considered the mediæval guild and town government,—these may, one or all, have reached the Alpine heights of philosophy, but what

is their foothold worth if they have neglected all the experience gained by their ancestors in a thousand years of toil? This mass of human labour—civic, religious, scholastic, literary, artistic—is not and cannot be worthless in the light of modern thought. It is the duty of the mediævalist to justify the past to the present, to convert what has been rejected as institution and as dogma into a fruitful factor of the culture of to-day.

If the chief task at present before the student of western civilisation is to obtain a fuller recognition of its earlier struggles, and a fuller appreciation of its earlier achievements, a slight study of one phase of mediæval thought—the passion-play—may be of service, although the writer sets himself no very wide and ambitious aim. He has merely sought to interest the reader in mediæval ways of expression and mediæval modes of thought; to excite in him a desire to study further. This is not a history of the religious drama in Germany, it is an attempt to portray one phase in the mediæval folk-conception of Christ; and it must be read in the spirit that recognises in the current religious conceptions of the great bulk of the people the actual religion of the day. It is this religion, and no other, which is an active social force, helping to mould the spiritual and economic life of its devotees. That the reader may pass on, whenever he lists, into fresh fields and onto the little-trodden byways of mediæval religious literature, considerable space has been given to footnote references. These references, however, have no claim whatever to completeness, every student will recognise how they might have been increased a hundredfold. Like the scanty remarks on the

English and French plays, they are inserted for illustration; they are a few among the many sources from which a conception of mediæval Catholicism can be drawn, even to its smaller dramatic details.

But beyond the intellectual value of the mediæval factor to modern culture, has not the study of the life of the Middle Ages a practical value for to-day? Is there not much directly bearing on our great machine age which can be learnt from the old religious socialism? For our capitalistic society may not it be suggestive to study a civilisation in which labour had not been reduced to a market commodity, nor the craftsman to a tool? The self-assertion of the individual was in those days checked by a strong religious sense; the awe of an active ecclesiastical system prevented the anti-social from complete domination over the weaker and more ignorant.[1] Protestant writers are apt to treat the Reformation as if its first and greatest effect was the freedom of the intellect from the tyranny of dogma. This may have been an after-effect, but that it was not the aim of the Reformers themselves their treatment of Erasmus and Servetus amply testifies. The first and greatest effect of the Reformation was the destruction,

[1] In this respect the Canon Law compares favourably with the Roman Law, the spread of which was one of the causes of the Peasant War. The extent to which the Church, even in the fifteenth century, endeavoured to hold in check the oppressors of the poor and weak is manifest in the confessional books of the period. Not only usurers and false traders were denounced, but princes and magistrates boldly reproved. It may suffice to mention, among many instances, *Der Spiegel des Sünders* (Augsburg, c. 1470) and *Dat Licht der Sele* (Lübeck, 1484). Both, in small part only, are reprinted in Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1855). In this respect Luther remained true to Catholic traditions, and a study of his sermons (e.g. *Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher*, 1524) would surprise many as showing him more of a socialist than the most advanced of the moderns.

for good or ill, of an elaborate philosophy of life. No student of comparative religion can term that philosophy the religion taught by Jesus in Galilee. It was the product of active and masterful, not of passive and submissive races. It was the folk-religion of Western (in particular Teutonic), not of Eastern peoples. To many, notwithstanding its grave defects, it will appear to contain social, economic, and æsthetic elements wanting in the civilisation of to-day. To the narrower Protestant the Middle Ages appeared Dark Ages; probably he regarded them in much the same spirit as the early Christians regarded the palmy days of Greek culture. Yet the day came when Hellenism broke in upon Christianity and forced mankind to recognise it as a co-equal factor of human thought. Perhaps the day is not so distant when mediævalism, rejected long ago as a religion, shall be recognised as an essential feature of modern culture. It only awaits an interpreter with inspiration as well as knowledge.[1] Meanwhile the object of the present writer will be more than fulfilled if his essay leads any reader to a study of mediæval thought and expression for their own sakes. He is certain that such a study cannot be without fruit.

[1] The name of William Morris will occur to most readers as a noteworthy exponent of that culture, and more so in 1896 than it was even in 1883.

List of the Principal German Mediæval Religious Plays with Key to Letter References

A. *Altteutsche Schauspiele.* Franz Joseph Mone. 1841.

B. *Schauspiele des Mittelalters.* 2 Bde. Franz Joseph Mone. 1852.

C. *Alsfelder Passionsspiel.* C. W. M. Grein. 1874.

D. *Das Oberammergauer Passionsspiel in seiner ältesten Gestalt.* August Hartmann. 1880.

E. *Heidelberger Passionsspiel.* Gustav Milchsack. 1880. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 150.

F. *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel.* Gustav Milchsack. 1881. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 156.

G. *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele, I. Die lateinische Osterfeiern.* Gustav Milchsack. 1880.

H. *Schauspiele aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert.* Julius Tittman, 2 Bde. 1868.

I. *Erlauer Spiele. Sechs altdeutsche Mysterien.* Karl Ferd. Kummer. 1882.

J. *Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini et Ludus paschalis sive de passione Domini. Spiele einer Handschrift des XIII. Jahrhunderts aus Benedictbeuern. Carmina Burana.* J. Schmeller. 1847. Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 16.

K. *Freiburger Passionsspiele des XVI. Jahrhunderts.* E. Martin. Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Beförderung der Geschichte, Alterthums- und Volkskunde von Freiburg, Bd. 3. S. 1.

L. *Christi Leiden, Marienklage,* etc. Hoffmann von Fallersleben. 1837. Fundgruben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Litteratur, Theil II.

M. *Der Sündenfall und Marienklage. Zwei niederdeutsche Schauspiele.* Otto Schöneman. 1855.

N. *Das mittelalterliche Drama von Ende des römischen Kaiserthums.* Gerhard v. Zeyschwitz. 1878.

O. *Ludus de decem Virginibus.* L. Bechstein. 1855. Wartburg Bibliothek, Bd. 1.

P. *Theophilus. Niederdeutsches Schauspiel.* Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Zwei Theile. 1853 & 1854.

Q. *Weihnacht-Spiele und Lieder aus Süddeutschland.* Karl Weinhold. 1855.

R. *Weihnachtlied und Weihnachtspiel in Oberbayern.* August Hartmann. 1875.

S. *Ordnung des Frankfurter Passionsspiels.* G. E. von Fichard. Frankfurtisches Archiv für ältere deutsche Litteratur und Geschichte, Bd. 3. S. 131. 1815.

T. *Volksschauspiele.* In Bayern und Oesterreich-Ungarn gesammelt von August Hartmann. 1880.

U. *Die lateinisch-böhmischen Oster-Spiele des XIV.-XV. Jahrhunderts.* J. J. Hanuš. 1863.

W. *Das älteste deutsche Passionsspiel*, von Karl Bartsch. Germania, Bd. viii. Wien, 1863. This is a fragment from about 1300.

X. *Dat spil fan der Upstandinge, Gedichtet* 1464. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Ettmüller. Quedlinburg, 1851. This is another edition with prefatory matter of the first play in B. ii pp. 33-107.

Y. *Zuckmantler Passionsspiel, Programm des Obergymnasiums zu Troppau*, ed. Anton Peter, 1868. A seventeenth-century play.

Z. *Das Lambacher Passionsspiel.* Herausgegeben von Sebastian Mayer. Programm des Obergymnasiums zu Kremsmünster, 1883. This is an operatic *Marienklage*, the manuscript of which dates from about 1593.

I, p. v., R, pp. 1-4, and U, pp. 18-22, give copious references to other and earlier literature of the German religious plays.

II.—*The Unity of the Passion-Play*

To form a mental picture of the universe and its history as a connected whole has been the aim of man from the earliest dawn of intellect. His problem has ever been: How am I related to the past, to the future, to the wide expanse of surrounding nature? He has laboured in many ages, in many ways to find a unity in history, and a unity in natural phenomena. In our own day we find a light, by no means an all-penetrating daylight, yet a steady search-light, in the principle of evolution. Man's conduct no longer regarded as the axis of the universe, the source of unity in all creation, we turn to science rather than to religion to find the unity in the world-drama. In the Middle Ages Ptolemaic conceptions were still supreme; the earth was the centre of the universe, man was the centre of the earth; round his wants all physical nature centred, and for his purposes the universe existed. But for man then, as now, the vital question was conduct; on conduct depended the very survival of social groups, and the gregarious instinct had early emphasised, with the strong religious sanctions embraced in such terms as sin and righteousness, the fundamental features of social and anti-social behaviour. Thus in the Middle Ages men sought the unity of the world and its history in the problem of man's conduct. The current religion—widely developed from the scanty formulæ of original Christianity—gave an answer. The unity of the world-drama lies in the struggle of man against sin, in his fall and his redemption, in the punishment of the wicked

and the reward of the just. The mediæval treatment of the world-drama had the same purport as the best melodrama of to-day. It was not realistic,—the social triumphed and the anti-social met with retribution at last,—but it emphasised the advantages of the moral life, strengthened the influence of conscience, and so increased the action of the gregarious instinct in man. A more realistic treatment does not always have the same moral weight with the half-cultured.

The great world-drama as a non-realistic melodrama with Christ as its chief character is the keynote to the fully developed passion-play. It took several centuries to complete this development; but it is just because the passion-play developed step by step with the religious ideas of the Middle Ages, and step by step with their social and political conceptions, that its evolution is of such great interest. The history of the religious drama shows us at once the stages in the growth of mediæval Christianity and its changing relation to the people. The rise of mediæval socialism is largely mirrored in the development of Easter-plays and passion-plays. The fully developed passion-play illustrated to the mediæval man the unity of the world's history, and the unity of all life, good and bad, sublime and ridiculous. In those days religion was a very active feature of everyday life, and every life was itself a factor in the great world-drama which, beginning with the creation, ended only with the day of judgment. The huge *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel* carries us from the fall of Lucifer to the Resurrection of Christ. Judging from German analogies, I have little hesitation in describing the *Townley*

II.—*The Unity of the Passion-Play*

To form a mental picture of the universe and its history as a connected whole has been the aim of man from the earliest dawn of intellect. His problem has ever been: How am I related to the past, to the future, to the wide expanse of surrounding nature? He has laboured in many ages, in many ways to find a unity in history, and a unity in natural phenomena. In our own day we find a light, by no means an all-penetrating daylight, yet a steady search-light, in the principle of evolution. Man's conduct no longer regarded as the axis of the universe, the source of unity in all creation, we turn to science rather than to religion to find the unity in the world-drama. In the Middle Ages Ptolemaic conceptions were still supreme; the earth was the centre of the universe, man was the centre of the earth; round his wants all physical nature centred, and for his purposes the universe existed. But for man then, as now, the vital question was conduct; on conduct depended the very survival of social groups, and the gregarious instinct had early emphasised, with the strong religious sanctions embraced in such terms as sin and righteousness, the fundamental features of social and anti-social behaviour. Thus in the Middle Ages men sought the unity of the world and its history in the problem of man's conduct. The current religion—widely developed from the scanty formulæ of original Christianity—gave an answer. The unity of the world-drama lies in the struggle of man against sin, in his fall and his redemption, in the punishment of the wicked

and the reward of the just. The mediæval treatment of the world-drama had the same purport as the best melodrama of to-day. It was not realistic,—the social triumphed and the anti-social met with retribution at last,—but it emphasised the advantages of the moral life, strengthened the influence of conscience, and so increased the action of the gregarious instinct in man. A more realistic treatment does not always have the same moral weight with the half-cultured.

The great world-drama as a non-realistic melodrama with Christ as its chief character is the keynote to the fully developed passion-play. It took several centuries to complete this development; but it is just because the passion-play developed step by step with the religious ideas of the Middle Ages, and step by step with their social and political conceptions, that its evolution is of such great interest. The history of the religious drama shows us at once the stages in the growth of mediæval Christianity and its changing relation to the people. The rise of mediæval socialism is largely mirrored in the development of Easter-plays and passion-plays. The fully developed passion-play illustrated to the mediæval man the unity of the world's history, and the unity of all life, good and bad, sublime and ridiculous. In those days religion was a very active feature of everyday life, and every life was itself a factor in the great world-drama which, beginning with the creation, ended only with the day of judgment. The huge *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel* carries us from the fall of Lucifer to the Resurrection of Christ. Judging from German analogies, I have little hesitation in describing the *Townley*

II.—*The Unity of the Passion-Play*

To form a mental picture of the universe and its history as a connected whole has been the aim of man from the earliest dawn of intellect. His problem has ever been: How am I related to the past, to the future, to the wide expanse of surrounding nature? He has laboured in many ages, in many ways to find a unity in history, and a unity in natural phenomena. In our own day we find a light, by no means an all-penetrating daylight, yet a steady search-light, in the principle of evolution. Man's conduct no longer regarded as the axis of the universe, the source of unity in all creation, we turn to science rather than to religion to find the unity in the world-drama. In the Middle Ages Ptolemaic conceptions were still supreme; the earth was the centre of the universe, man was the centre of the earth; round his wants all physical nature centred, and for his purposes the universe existed. But for man then, as now, the vital question was conduct; on conduct depended the very survival of social groups, and the gregarious instinct had early emphasised, with the strong religious sanctions embraced in such terms as sin and righteousness, the fundamental features of social and anti-social behaviour. Thus in the Middle Ages men sought the unity of the world and its history in the problem of man's conduct. The current religion—widely developed from the scanty formulæ of original Christianity—gave an answer. The unity of the world-drama lies in the struggle of man against sin, in his fall and his redemption, in the punishment of the wicked

and the reward of the just. The mediæval treatment of the world-drama had the same purport as the best melodrama of to-day. It was not realistic,—the social triumphed and the anti-social met with retribution at last,—but it emphasised the advantages of the moral life, strengthened the influence of conscience, and so increased the action of the gregarious instinct in man. A more realistic treatment does not always have the same moral weight with the half-cultured.

The great world-drama as a non-realistic melodrama with Christ as its chief character is the keynote to the fully developed passion-play. It took several centuries to complete this development; but it is just because the passion-play developed step by step with the religious ideas of the Middle Ages, and step by step with their social and political conceptions, that its evolution is of such great interest. The history of the religious drama shows us at once the stages in the growth of mediæval Christianity and its changing relation to the people. The rise of mediæval socialism is largely mirrored in the development of Easter-plays and passion-plays. The fully developed passion-play illustrated to the mediæval man the unity of the world's history, and the unity of all life, good and bad, sublime and ridiculous. In those days religion was a very active feature of everyday life, and every life was itself a factor in the great world-drama which, beginning with the creation, ended only with the day of judgment. The huge *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel* carries us from the fall of Lucifer to the Resurrection of Christ. Judging from German analogies, I have little hesitation in describing the *Townley*

II.—*The Unity of the Passion-Play*

To form a mental picture of the universe and its history as a connected whole has been the aim of man from the earliest dawn of intellect. His problem has ever been: How am I related to the past, to the future, to the wide expanse of surrounding nature? He has laboured in many ages, in many ways to find a unity in history, and a unity in natural phenomena. In our own day we find a light, by no means an all-penetrating daylight, yet a steady search-light, in the principle of evolution. Man's conduct no longer regarded as the axis of the universe, the source of unity in all creation, we turn to science rather than to religion to find the unity in the world-drama. In the Middle Ages Ptolemaic conceptions were still supreme; the earth was the centre of the universe, man was the centre of the earth; round his wants all physical nature centred, and for his purposes the universe existed. But for man then, as now, the vital question was conduct; on conduct depended the very survival of social groups, and the gregarious instinct had early emphasised, with the strong religious sanctions embraced in such terms as sin and righteousness, the fundamental features of social and anti-social behaviour. Thus in the Middle Ages men sought the unity of the world and its history in the problem of man's conduct. The current religion—widely developed from the scanty formulæ of original Christianity—gave an answer. The unity of the world-drama lies in the struggle of man against sin, in his fall and his redemption, in the punishment of the wicked

and the reward of the just. The mediæval treatment of the world-drama had the same purport as the best melodrama of to-day. It was not realistic,—the social triumphed and the anti-social met with retribution at last,—but it emphasised the advantages of the moral life, strengthened the influence of conscience, and so increased the action of the gregarious instinct in man. A more realistic treatment does not always have the same moral weight with the half-cultured.

The great world-drama as a non-realistic melodrama with Christ as its chief character is the keynote to the fully developed passion-play. It took several centuries to complete this development; but it is just because the passion-play developed step by step with the religious ideas of the Middle Ages, and step by step with their social and political conceptions, that its evolution is of such great interest. The history of the religious drama shows us at once the stages in the growth of mediæval Christianity and its changing relation to the people. The rise of mediæval socialism is largely mirrored in the development of Easter-plays and passion-plays. The fully developed passion-play illustrated to the mediæval man the unity of the world's history, and the unity of all life, good and bad, sublime and ridiculous. In those days religion was a very active feature of everyday life, and every life was itself a factor in the great world-drama which, beginning with the creation, ended only with the day of judgment. The huge *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel* carries us from the fall of Lucifer to the Resurrection of Christ. Judging from German analogies, I have little hesitation in describing the *Townley*

Mysteries as but the consecutive scenes of one continuous passion-play, stretching from the creation to the day of judgment.[1] The Coventry Mysteries and the York *Corpus Christi* plays certainly covered all time from creation to doomsday. Another German play, built up by Krüger in the sixteenth century from older material, takes us from the fall of Lucifer to the day of judgment. It is characteristically entitled: "A right fine and merry new 'Action' of the beginning and end of the world, embracing therein the whole story of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."[2] The whole of history is thus regarded as a unity working up to and onward from the birth of Christ. In his life history finds a justification for the world's existence. The modern philosophical historian may smile at a treatment which links the history of the world to one phase of civilisation. Yet we must not measure the value of the mediæval theory solely by its outward garb of fable and

[1] I leave out of account the last two pieces printed under the heading of the *Townley Mysteries* (Surtees Society, 1836), namely, the *Suscitatio Lazari* and *Suspensio Judae*, both of which I suspect to be additions by a later hand, and intended to be introduced in their proper places. A strong argument in favour of the unity of these mysteries in a single passion-play is the appearance of the *Te Deum* only at the end of the *Judicium* (p. 321). It naturally concluded every complete play (see all the plays in the *Mystères inédits* of Jubinal, the plays of Hilarius, Weinhold's *Weihnachtspiele*, the *Ludus de adventu Antichristi*, etc.) This customary conclusion probably originated in the religious dramas having in early times been played between the third response and the *Te Deum*. Looked at in the light of a complete passion-play, the Townley Play for its freedom from tradition, for its flow of language, and general treatment, compares most favourably with its German rivals. Another play of some originality is the Low German *Sündenfall*, which, starting from the fall of Lucifer, ends (probably as a fragment) with the consecration of the infant Mary. A curious metaphysical conception of the freedom of the will, as associated with the fall of man, runs through this play; the Creator takes a more important part in it than in the other dramas, and, to judge from his language, must have made a close study of Augustine, Peter the Lombard, and the Vulgate!

[2] H, Bd. ii.

perverted fact; its value lies in the spiritual idea of a unity in history, of a continuous development of life even as in a drama. The student of evolution to-day is really working at the same idea, albeit with better tools and a wider knowledge of facts.

The view of history taken by the passion-play writers is, of course, characteristic of all mediæval historians. They seek a unity of the world-drama in the story of man's fall and redemption. The reader must not, however, imagine that historical knowledge remained stagnant in the "Dark Ages." There is as great an advance from the twelfth-century rhymed chronicle of the Kaisers — with its unbroken line of Roman Emperors from Julius Cæsar to Rudolf von Hapsburg—to the fifteenth-century Nürnberg Chronicle of Schedel, as there is from the latter work itself to any nineteenth-century *Weltgeschichte*. History did not stand still, even if all historians accepted the fundamental idea that the unity of history was to be found in the great Christian drama, the real passion-play.

In this spirit Herrad von Landsberg, abbess of Hohenburg, wrote towards the end of the twelfth century her *Hortus Deliciarum*, a compendium of history and science for the nuns committed to her charge. Therein, by word and by picture, she carried her sisters from the creation of the world even to the perpetual damnation of the wicked, who—popes, bishops, emperors, nobles, and common folk—descend in a long line into hell. Hartmann Schedel started with the creation of the angels, and concluded with the resurrection of the dead and the final day of judgment in the valley of

Jehoshaphat. In doing this he much amplified and developed the accepted standard history, the *Fasciculus Temporum*, which carried events only from the creation of heaven and earth to the year of its publication, 1474. Still later, in the first half of the sixteenth century, Sebastian Franck, in his *History-Bible*, starts his story with a philosophical discussion on the nature of God and on his method of creation, and traces it down to the coming of Antichrist and the last day.[1]

What the playwright put into his drama of the passion, and the historian into his chronicle, that the artist put into his pictures and engravings. Herrad in her miniatures, Wolgemut in his woodcuts to Schedel's Chronicle, Albrecht Dürer, and many another in their passion-series carry us from the creation, or at least from Adam and Eve, to the final day of judgment. Thus in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the passion-plays, the chronicles, and the engravings mutually illustrate each other. A knowledge of the chronicles makes the unity of the plays intelligible, and an acquaintance with the plays renders clear much that at first is obscure in painting and woodcut; the latter in their turn throw much light on the scenic arrangement and on the mode of acting the plays themselves. Whence did the artists draw the symbolism, nay, the very incidents and groupings of their passion pictures? There

[1] *Kaiserchronik*, herausgegeben von H. F. Massmann, 1849; *Fasciculus Temporum*, Cöln, 1474; *Buch der Croniken*, Nürnberg, 1493; Sebastian Franck, *Chronica, Zeytbuch, und Geschychtbibel*, Strasburg, 1531. The unique MS. of Herrad von Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum* was burnt in the last siege of Strasburg. Reproductions of such miniatures as had been copied are now being published by the Elsass Society of Antiquaries. Cf. also *Herrad von Landsberg und ihr Werk, Hortus Deliciarum*, von C. M. Engelhardt, 1818, and *Herrad de Landsberg*, par Charles Schmidt, 1896.

can be little doubt that it was from the religious plays of their native towns. The importance of these plays for Christian iconography has already been noted by Didron :—

> The representation of miracles and mysteries served to put in action the persons painted on glass windows, sculptured on the capitals, and encrusted in the vaultings of cathedrals. . . . Words and gestures interpreted what outline and colouring had expressed, and the intention which actuated both was the same; in short, the graphic and dramatic arts became a book to those who could read no other. It is in this light that they must be regarded; in this character we must seek a clue to the interpretation of the figures —true hieroglyphics of the Middle Ages—which Christian Archæology, although at present only in its infancy, already begins to decipher and comprehend (*Christian Iconography*, p. 6).

Schröer has shown how, in the *Oberufer Spiel*—still performed in 1853—the traditional scenic groupings were actual copies of old woodcuts.[1] Such works as Dürer's *Grosse Passion*, or Holbein the Elder's passion picture at Augsburg (No. 87), are invaluable to the student of the mediæval religious play, while Wolgemut's woodcuts in the *Schatzbehalter* of 1491—especially in the old coloured copies—provide the best graphic conception possible of a mediæval passion-play.

It is worth while illustrating this correspondence between the mediæval artist and playwright in one or two typical cases. The student of the pictures and woodcuts of the Middle Ages must often have noticed in representations of the agony in the garden of Gethsemane an angel bearing a cross or cup. It occurs, for example, in famous pictures by Holbein the Elder and

[1] *Deutsche Weihnachtspiele aus Ungarn*, 1858: see also **R**, p. 24.

Wolgemut at Munich (*Pinakothek*, Nos. 5 and 22), and in Cut 10 of Albrecht Dürer's *Kleine Passion*, and Cut 4 of his *Grosse Passion*. This piece of symbolism seems unnecessary for a great artist; he could represent something of the agony by facial expression. On the other hand, on the great outdoor stages with craftsmen for actors little could be trusted to facial expression and gesture. Hence symbolism is in its right place there, and its use in the passion-play probably long continued to influence the artist. Thus we find it a common stage direction of passion-plays that "Here an angel shall appear with a cross (or a cup, as the case may be)";[1] and the direction was actually carried out in the Brixlegg play of 1882. Another frequent subject for the artist is that of the soldiers brutally playing with the blindfolded Christ. A good example will be found in Dürer's *Kleine Passion* (Cut 14). This game of *puczpirn*, as a symbolic emphasis of the torture, is a favourite incident of the passion-plays.[2] One of the earliest references to it occurs in *The Legends of the Holy Rood*, published by the Early English Text Society (pp. 178, 179).

> The cloth beforn thyn eyn too
> To *bobbyn* the they knyt it soo.

In the *Coventry Mysteries* (Halliwell, p. 296) the stage-directions bid the Jews "castyn a cloth ovyr his face." In the *Townley Mysteries* a 'vaylle' is

[1] See Lukas Cranach's *Passion*, Cut 1, and his *Wittemberger Heiligthumsbuch*, k, iii. These representations, with those of Holbein, Wolgemut, and Dürer, should be compared with F, p. 157; B, Bd. ii. p. 263; and R, p. 23, etc.

[2] See F, pp. 168, 176; E, p. 181; C, p. 114; B, Bd. ii. p. 275; and compare the *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S. p. 45.

brought and bound over Christ's eyes, and then we read :—

> 1*st Tortor.* Who smote the last ?
> 2*nd Tortor.* Was it I ?
> 3*rd Tortor.* He wote not I traw.

Even in the recent Brixlegg play a game at *Blindesel* was introduced.

Lastly, we may notice the symbolic method of marking the agony endured in the crowning with thorns. The crown being put on Christ's brow, is then pressed down by means of two or three long stakes placed across the head, upon the ends of which several ruffians throw their weight, or push with all their power. The oldest representation of this torture I have met with occurs on a fourteenth-century wood panel from Landshut in the National Museum at Munich (Saal III. 96). There is another early one (*c.* 1400) in a typical *Leben Jesu* from Meister Wilhelm's school at Cologne (No. 96 ; see also No. 53). Then we have the sketch by the Elder Holbein for the picture of the Paul's Basilica in the Augsburg Gallery. A picture by the Elder Cranach at Munich (*Pinakothek*, No. 749) deals with the same idea, among several other scenes almost unequalled from the passion-play standpoint. In woodcuts we have the stakes' incident given with brutal force in the *Schatzbehalter* (Fig. 72), in Dürer's *Kleine Passion* (Cut 18), in Lukas Cranach's *Passion* (Cut 7), and his *Passion Christi und Antichristi* (Cut 3), not to cite innumerable other instances. In such representations, we see the very grouping and action which occurred in the Brixlegg passion-play, and in most mediæval plays

also.[1] But even in less legendary scenes from the passion, such as the scourging, the nailing to the cross, the burial, the descent into hell, and the resurrection,[2]—we find the same close relation between the graphic and dramatic representations. Indeed, in my experience, the very best guide to a great German mediæval cathedral or museum is the text of a fully developed passion-play, like the *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel.*

Having indicated the sympathy between playwright and artist, we may turn to another point in which they combine to illustrate the mediæval spirit. We have already noted that to the mediæval mind all history was a unity, a continuous drama, the chief movements in which were the Fall of Man and the Atonement. Thus every event which preceded the birth of Christ was held to have some more or less direct bearing on the incidents which follow that centre-point of the world-drama. In this spirit every occurrence in the Old Testament was treated as 'prefiguring' some incident in Christ's life, or as foreshadowing some future event in

[1] See **E**, p. 220; **F**, pp. 201, 202; and **B**, ii. p. 300, etc.

[2] The illustrations of the resurrection are of peculiar interest, as in their earlier form they throw much light on the church ritual of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. Compare the numerous examples in Hefner Alteneck's *Trachten des Mittelalters*. Or, to take out of a sister art one of many instances, we may mention the ten sculptures on the tympanum of the western door in the tower of Higham Ferrers Church. Especially interesting is in this case the visit of the three Maries to the sepulchre—a coffin on an Early English trefoil arcade, beneath which are the four watchers; an angel is seated to the left. The very *priestly* aspect of the three Maries—not unnatural in the case of the church ritual—has lead to an amusing error in Parker's *Architectural Notices of the Archdeaconry of Northampton*, 1849, where there is a woodcut of this sculpture entitled 'Disciples at the Tomb.' The Higham Ferrers representation really gives as good a notion of the Easter *Visitatio Sepulchri* as the miniature reproduced by Mone, **B**, i. p. 8.

the history of the world.[1] The conception of evolution being absent, a mystic relationship was conceived as holding between the past and the future. Thus, if the Queen of Sheba visits Solomon, this is a 'prefiguration' of the three kings at the cradle of the infant Jesus. Jacob's flight and David's flight are but prototypes of the flight into Egypt. Judas' betrayal is prefigured by the sale of Joseph, the mocking of Christ by that of Elijah, the crucifixion by the brazen serpent, the three days in the sepulchre by Jonah's incarceration in the belly of the whale, the passage of the wicked into hell by the burning of Sodom, and the last judgment by Daniel's condemnation of the elders who bore false witness against Susanna.[2] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries such prefigurations were largely used in the instruction of the common people; a knowledge of them solves many a mystery in the arrangement of the painted windows of our churches. They were the subject of many manuscript miniatures, possibly intended as guides for cloister artists in glass and stone. Still later they were in the early days of wood-engraving grouped together and published as block-books. Manuscripts and block-books of prefigurations have received the somewhat misleading name of *Biblia Pauperum*. They would be better described by Sebastian

[1] In the *Schatzbehalter*, to the cuts of which we have already referred, will be found a considerable number of Old Testament 'prefigurations' very typical of the passion-play interpretations.

[2] One of the most curious prefigurations of the religious plays is that of the *Sündenfall* (M, p. 68), where Melchisedek, after interpreting the burning bush as a symbol of the Light that shall come into the world, then proceeds to celebrate mass, the consecration of the yet unborn Light! Compare the *Chester Plays*, p. 60.

The prefigurations, however, are not solely of interest as illustrating the mediæval notion of history. Much of the Old Testament and even secular matter thus introduced into the passion-play, developed in detail, broke off from the parent stem, and obtained an independent existence in more wieldy plays, many of which reached the greatest popularity. Thus, for example, in the sixteenth century we find innumerable authors, including a duke, a schoolmaster, and a cobbler,[1] treating as playwrights the story of Susanna. Of course it is not possible to consider all independent dramas dealing with scenes which occur in the great passion-plays, as originally offshoots. The passion-plays do not appear in their complete development till about the fifteenth century, and I shall presently trace their growth from small and fragmentary ritual plays. Many of the smaller religious dramas are of much earlier date,[2] and have had an independent and parallel development, not improbably originating in the dramatic performances of cloister scholars. Nevertheless a great variety of small dramas of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be safely looked upon as developed offshoots of the passion-plays, and a good deal in the history, even of the secular drama, thus becomes intelligible. The chief dramatic model set before the playwright of those days was the great passion-play,

[1] Heinrich Julius, Herzog von Braunschweig, Paul Rebhun, Schulmeister zu Zwickau, and Hans Sachs, Schuster zu Nürnberg.

[2] For example, in the first half of the eleventh century we hear of certain monks who "neque in refectorio comederent, exceptis rarissimis festis, maxime in quibus Herodem representarent Christi persecutorem, parvulorum interfectorem, seu ludis aliis aut spectaculis quasi theatralibus exhibendis comportaretur symbolum ad faciendum convivium in refectorio aliis pene omnibus temporibus vacuo." Gerloh von Reichersberg.

and in this symbolism took the place of gesture and of character in the modern sense; nor was the unity one of place, time, or person, but of the thread by which the historical world-drama itself was supposed to be linked together. The reader who bears this in mind will the better comprehend the crudeness and apparent helplessness of the earliest attempts at the secular drama in Germany—its authors had to learn how to replace symbolism by acting, and how to build up a new conception of dramatic unity.[1] It was the English actors and English playwrights who chiefly helped them in this matter.

III.—*On the Spirit of the Passion-Plays*

The reader who comes without a preliminary study of the mediæval spirit to the perusal of a fifteenth-century passion-play will probably be struck in the first place by the incongruous juxtaposition of religion and humour. He may feel inclined to assert that the people who could bring the sublime and the ridiculous into such close contact, who could joke even with the most sacred personages of their faith, must have had no deep religious feeling. Such a reader might even be inclined to agree with certain Protestant authors who have asserted that the mediæval treatment of sacred topics, as evidenced in the passion-plays, shows how little hold their religion had upon the people in the fifteenth century. Yet such an opinion is not only a misapprehension of the mediæval

[1] The relation of the passion-plays to the *Fastnachtspiele* cannot be discussed here, but the chief defects of the latter are closely connected with essential features, rather than defects of the former.

spirit, it is also a superficial view of human nature. In real life the ridiculous is close to the sublime, and the naïve spirit of the Middle Ages realised this, much as Shakespeare realised it. There is something incongruous to the modern mind in the manner in which Shakespeare expresses this great truth by the introduction of fool interludes, yet we do not hold him incapable of appreciating the higher phases of human feeling. It is from the same standpoint that we must judge the passion-play, nay, much of mediæval art and literature, if we would really understand the naïve mixture of the earnest and the grotesque which, indeed, characterises all popular expression, but especially that of the Middle Ages. It marks no want of reverence, it is no sign of loss of faith. It is a childlike, semi-conscious recognition of a great truth, the form of which often becomes traditional, and in the mediæval spirit received, as everything else, a symbolic expression. Two of the most popular and most effective books of the fifteenth century illustrate this principle, the one from the religious and the other from the moral standpoint. No more earnest books exist than the *Art of Dying* and *The Ship of Fools*, yet, both verbally and pictorially, they bring the most weird humour into juxtaposition with the deepest moral and religious teaching of their day.[1] Without that mingling they never would have won the position they did among the people, and those who would write for the moral or religious profit of the masses to-day would do well to bear this fact in mind. The Christianity of Jesus was not polytheistic, nor festive,

[1] Even more characteristic, perhaps, of this combination of the solemn and the grotesque are the *Dances of Death*, already referred to in Essay I.

nor humorous. Yet polytheism, festival, and humour had to be brought into it, before it was fully acclimatised among the Teutonic races, before it could become the folk-religion of the Middle Ages. Little by little the ecclesiastics gave way, and Christianity was moulded to the needs of the robuster Western nations. The Christianity of the Middle Ages was not that of Christ, still less that of Paul; it was these *plus* Teutonic heathenism, *plus* an indefinite amount of mediæval folk-humour and folk-feeling.

It is in this spirit that we must endeavour to interpret the grotesque inside and outside the churches, the weird humour, sometimes verging on the indecent, of occasional miniatures in monkish manuscripts, and, above all, the combination of sacred and jocular in the passion-plays. There was a widespread reverence for the papal hierarchy in the Middle Ages, yet a pope or two in hell[1] and an imp of a devil teasing a cardinal are traditional in mediæval art. There was a true religious earnestness in the folk of the fifteenth century, but, like the Greeks, they could laugh at their gods; the belief in the Devil had a very real influence over conduct in the Middle Ages, but a mediæval audience thoroughly appreciated his humorous side on the stage. As in other matters, the spirit of the passion-play here mirrors the general spirit of its day, and I may illustrate it from the drama, leaving the reader to find its analogies in other forms of literature and in pictorial art.

[1] I once showed a popular preacher some fifteenth-century representations of the day of judgment, with all types of ecclesiastics descending into hell. A few Sundays later he preached on evidences of the Protestant spirit before the Reformation, and cited these pictures as an example of the popular feeling towards the Catholic hierarchy! This was a marked case of the need of the mediæval factor in culture.

While the comic element became an all-important factor in the greater passion-plays, as well as in the shorter religious plays, and invaded even the scenic representation of the most sacred portion of the Passion, there still remained a simplicity and earnestness about the action and words of the central figure which could not fail to impress both sturdy burgher and rougher peasant. Next to the figure of Christ, that of the Virgin appeals most strongly to our religious feeling and dramatic sense. There is scarcely a single greater passion-play in which the beauty of the *Marienklage*—the grief of the Virgin at the Cross and tomb of her son—does not fill the reader with a deep sympathy, and render him conscious of a truly poetic, nay dramatic, feeling struggling with a primitive mode of expression and often a pitiable versification. There is something almost of the Greek tragic spirit in the *Marienklage*, and this relation to the Greek is not so accidental as might be supposed. The earliest *Marienklage* which I have come across actually exists in a fourth-century Greek passion-play, Χριστὸς πάσχων.[1] This remarkable production appears to have been hardly sufficiently studied in relation to the mediæval religious drama.

[1] Printed as an appendix by Wagner and Dübner in *Fragmenta Euripidis*, Paris, 1846. The opening lamentations of the *θεοτόκος* on hearing of the Crucifixion may perhaps interest the reader:—

Ἰώ μοι, ἰώ.
αἰ αἰ, τί δράσω; καρδία γὰρ οἴχεται.
πῶς πῶς δ' ἔτι ζῶ καὶ φέρω ταῦτα κλύειν;
ἰδεῖν δὲ ταῦτα πῶς ποτ' οἰσω παντλάμων;
ἴτ', ὦ γυναῖκες, τῆς Γαλιλαίας τέκνα,
προσείπατ' αὐτόν, καὶ προπέμψατε χθονός.
ὦ δεῦτε φίλαι, δεῦτε, λίπωμεν δέος.

The reader should also notice ll. 370 *et seq.* See footnote p. 384.

To the mediæval student it is peculiarly striking owing to its free treatment of the gospel narrative, its absence of additional traditional incident, and to the strong influence of the classical models which it exhibits. The loss the passion-play suffers when the *Marienklage* is omitted is well illustrated by Krüger's play, who in his narrow theological prejudice considered it necessary to entirely cut out the character of the Virgin. He shows us at once his ignorance of what forms the chief emotional factor in the drama, and demonstrates how impossible the passion-play becomes when it is adapted to theological controversies.[1]

It must not, however, be supposed that true poetic spirit is confined in the greater passion-plays to the lamentations of the Virgin, and that much even of the tone of these is due to a Greek source. This is far from being the case. As a striking instance of the contrary, we may cite Lucifer's appeal to the elements in the *Egerer Spiel*, and his offer to perform the most terrible penance if he can but obtain forgiveness. Here, for an instant, we have an approach to a higher dramatic conception, that of a glorious, large-hearted rebel Satan. The refusal of mercy to this heartrending appeal of Lucifer's contrasts curiously with the assertion in a thirteenth-century poem, *A Moral Ode* (*Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., l. 214), that the Devil himself might have had mercy had he sought for it. The same intellectual difficulty as to why the Devil could not do penance and

[1] See H, Bd. ii. Krüger introduces instead of the Virgin, a monk Franciscus, and a Lutheran Christophorus, who holds 'das recht evangelium.' It is, perhaps, needless to add that he consigns these to their fitting places, hell and heaven, on the day of judgment.

receive pardon like Adam crops up again in the *Seebrucker Hirtenspiel* (**R**, p. 134), and is peculiarly suggestive of the nature of the mediæval conception of penance. As a third example, which may be compared with the *Marienklage* and Lucifer's appeal, we may refer the reader to the extremely fine lamentation of the Foolish Virgins, written in the metre of the *Nibelungenlied*, with which the *Ludus de decem Virginibus* concludes (**O**, pp. 30, 31).[1]

Yet although powerful, almost dramatic, passages are not wanting in the greater passion-plays of the fifteenth century, it is still true that their general tone exhibits a naïve folk-spirit, expressed in a strong but crude folk-language. Only occasionally can we trace instances of the ecclesiastical spirit and the old church language, reminiscences of a time when the people had made neither the plays, nor the Christian religion, their own, but both were still in the first place associated with Church ritual. In the lesser plays, especially in local plays from out-of-the-way districts, where the peasants were actors, and where there was no authority with the will or the strength to repress extravagance, we find the comic element predominant. This is peculiarly the case in the short Easter and Christmas plays which, even as early as the fifteenth century, had lost all pretence of religious earnestness, and were related to the greater passion-plays much as a Gaiety burlesque

[1] According to the tradition it was a representation of this play which led the Landgraf of Thüringen so to despair of the mercy of God that he fell down in a fit of apoplexy, from the results of which he died. The tradition at any rate is of value as illustrating how deeply the religious plays could move the mediæval mind.

to the corresponding Lyceum drama. Thus in a short *Ludus in cunabilis Christi* the characters are Joseph "who leads Mary seated upon an ass," the midwife "carrying cradle, pap-bowl, and spoon," and a shepherd "leading two big dogs." Joseph, after pointing out the child to the shepherd as the one announced by the angels, invites him to drink from his flask; this is passed on to the Virgin and then to the midwife, who thinks a drop of wine would make the child sleep. She then rocks the cradle and sings *Magnum nomen Domini.* The flask again being passed round, the shepherd remarks that it must be cold for the child; Joseph agrees, and — *exeunt omnes!*[1] This play is by no means unique (compare the shepherds in the *Chester Plays*, p. 119[1]); indeed, a perhaps still more burlesque example of an *Infancy Play* has been published by Weinhold (**Q**, p. 106) from oral tradition. In this case Joseph is represented as rocking the cradle and singing:—

Kindla wiega, Kindla wiega!
Ich koan nich menne Finger biega
Hunni sausi,
der Kitsche thut der Bauch wih!

Kitsche is *Katzenjammer*, and there is perhaps something of naïve folk-realism rather than of burlesque in the baby Jesus troubled by the wind.

[1] See I, No. i., and compare *Ein Weihnachtsspiel aus einer Hs. des XV. Jahrhunderts*, edited by K. W. Piderit, 1869. Flögel's *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*, 1861, p. 246, may also be consulted. It must be noted, however, that the rocking of the Christ cradle actually occurred as a part of the Christmas church ritual, and a fossil of it remained in a *Protestant* church in Tübingen even as late as 1830. See E. Meier, *Sitten u. Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 464.

Obstetrices occur also in the Freising play, *Herodes sive magorum adoratio* (Q, p. 60), and indeed in innumerable mediæval representations of the births of Christ and the Virgin.[1] The predominance of the grotesque (even allowing for what is only grotesque to modern minds) is characteristic of Christmas plays.[2] But the same tendency, as we have already indicated, is to be found to a greater or less degree in most of the religious plays.[3] Thus, in the *Ludus de decem Virginibus*,[4] we find the strange stage direction *Dominica persona habet magnum convivium*, while in the *Sündenfall*[5] Solomon, at a feast to the prophets, treats them to the much-praised Eimbecker beer. We shall have occasion in the sequel to notice like instances from the greater passion-plays themselves.

With these instances before him, the reader may find it still more difficult to associate the extravagances of the shorter, and the comic incidents in the longer plays with the existence of a really religious spirit among the people. I can only reiterate that if he fails to grasp this association, he will fail to understand the folk of the Middle Ages, and in particular the state of feeling in the fifteenth century. The century which preceded the Reformation was distinguished from its immediate predecessor and successor by its essentially religious character.[6] If we look at the outer formal side of religion, it was

[1] The origin of the midwife is to be sought in the *Protevangelion*, ch. xiv. The somewhat unsavoury incident with the midwife Salome is reproduced with amplifications in the *Coventry Mysterics*, pp. 149 *et seq.*

[2] Q, pp. 97, 104, 111.

[3] *Townley Mysterics*, Surtees Society, 1866, pp. 84, 98; Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, Paris, 1837, ii. pp. 71-77.

[4] O, p. 22.

[5] M, p. 76.

[6] More *religious*, but of course far less *theological*.

peculiarly the age of church-building,[1] of religious sculpture, painting, and engraving, and of the fully developed passion-plays. If we turn to the inner spiritual side of religion it was an age of great vernacular preachers and of delicate spiritual teachers. To say it was the century of Thomas von Kempen conveys a great deal more than is at first apparent. The deep pietism of the author of the *Imitatio Christi* is not individual; it is characteristic of most of the devotional literature of his period. The *Seelenwürzgärtlein*, the *Himmelstrasse*, the *Hertzmaner*, and the *Guldin Spigel des Sünders*, are only types of a widespread and deep religious pietism, which appealed in the vulgar tongue directly to the heart, and erected no ecclesiastical barrier between the soul and its God.[2] Symbolism in ritual and in religious art, the grotesque in passion-play and engraving, by no means denote that the more spiritual side of religion was dead in the fifteenth century. If we wish to understand the mediæval spirit, and the Reformation as well, we must continually bear this in mind. An appreciation of the passion-plays will help us immensely in this very respect. In them we do not see the folk looking to the priest for its religion; the words and incidents of the Bible are brought home to the folk, while it

[1] For a list, by no means complete, see J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Bd. i. p. 142.

[2] See Vincenz Hasak, *Der christliche Glaube des deutschen Volkes beim Schlusse des Mittelalters*, 1868, and the appendices to Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1855. Much useful insight into the religious life of the period may be obtained from Geiler von Kaisersberg's sermons (an abridged edition has recently been published by P. de Lorenzi) and the confessional books, *e.g.* Münzenberger, *Das Frankfurter und Magdeburger Beichtbüchlein*, Mainz, 1881. For cloister sermons, see Jostes' edition of Johann Veghe's sermons, etc. etc.

dramatically represents and at the same time moulds its religion for itself.[1]

Were we to leave out of account the great mass of vernacular devotional literature, and to put on one side the eighteen editions of the German Bible which preceded Luther's, we should still find the passion-plays impressing the events, the teaching, and largely the very words of the gospel story, with all the vividness of the stage upon the minds of the people. Every town, almost every village had its yearly or bi-yearly play; and then for one, two, or even three days,[2] the people would make holiday, and, with due allowance for meals[3] and sleep, spend their whole time on the market-place watching the great drama, which for them was the story of the world, slowly unroll itself, a drama which in those days was rich in interest and deeply significant in meaning for each one of them. They might see one of their fellow-citizens personify God the Father,[4] they might laugh at the repeated discomfiture

[1] The historic myths so widely held, namely, that before the Reformation (*a*) the Bible was unknown to the people, (*b*) there were no church hymns in the vernacular, (*c*) there were no sermons or devotional books in the vulgar tongue, have been completely destroyed by scholarly research. See, besides the works referred to in the previous footnote, Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, pp. 188 *et seq.*; Karl Meister, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied; The Academy*, No. 699, p. 199; No. 701, p. 240; No. 704, p. 293; No. 744, p. 84; and No. 1193, p. 238; and *The Athenæum*, No. 2925, p. 630; No. 2930, p. 809; and No. 2953, p. 694.

[2] The Frankfurt passion-play lasted four days in 1498, besides a day of feasting for the actors and a day later with a procession in costume. In 1409 the great play of the London clerks at the Skinners' Well (Clerkenwell) lasted eight days. The Chester Mysteries took three days.

[3] At the passion-play resuscitated by the Brixlegg peasants in the early eighties the audience sat at tables placed in the open village street, each table being presided over by a peasant woman, who worked vigorously with soup-ladle and carving-knife.

[4] At the play referred to in the previous note it was God the Father who came onto the stage with, and claimed an owner for, an umbrella found after the morning performance; nor did the element of the grotesque in this incident at all strike the peasant majority in the audience.

of the Devil, and smile at the mode in which Judas' soul was carried off to Hell; yet none the less God, Devil, and Hell were intensely real to them, and became rather more so than less when the earnestness of their religion was softened by touches of humour in its stage representation. The realism of life itself ever brings the ridiculous into closest contact with the sublime.

IV.—*The Growth of the Passion-Play*

Although much research is still needful to complete our knowledge of the successive stages in the growth of the passion-play, we are nevertheless able to appreciate fairly accurately the influence of the three chief factors in the development of the German religious drama. These factors were the following: (*a*) a love of festival and symbolic representation dating from heathen days and peculiarly national in character. This factor fostered the demand for dramatic ritual rather than moulded the character of its growth; (*b*) the Church ritual; and (*c*) the influence of the cloister-schools and scholars. The last two factors were both international in their character, and account for the cosmopolitan elements in the plays. While the second factor was ecclesiastical and, on the whole, conservative, the third was progressive and democratic. It was the influence of the strolling scholars which replaced Latin by the vernacular, and ultimately handed over the religious drama to the people to mould according to the folk-conceptions of Christianity and of life in general.

One of the most striking features of a popular fifteenth-

century passion-play is the retention amid the vernacular of certain Latin responses, hymns, and stage-directions taken almost verbatim from the Easter or Christmas ritual of the Church. A further investigation shows us that the earliest religious plays, if plays they can be called, were amplifications of a few sentences accompanied by descriptive action which had been introduced between the last response and the *Te Deum* into the Christmas or Easter services. We have the words and directions for such dramatic ritual passing imperceptibly into ritualistic drama in eleventh-century manuscripts from both France and Germany. Herein are undoubtedly to be found the first germs of the great religious plays. We have yet, however, to find a reason for the introduction of such dramatic ritual into the Church service. The ultimate cause is not far to seek. The drama itself—tragedy and comedy—developed, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] out of the choral and sexual dances in honour of a goddess of fertility. The drama is thus essentially of religious origin. Now although Germanic heathenism had not developed out of its religious festivals at the introduction of Christianity anything like the Greek drama, it still possessed a wide range of choral and symbolic representations, the whole of which the folk endeavoured to associate with their new religion, and this for the simple reason that they were still in the stage of civilisation when religion and semi-dramatic representation are closely allied. It stands beyond question that the first notion of the Germans as to the new churches was that they were convenient meeting-

[1] See Essay XI. p. 136 and footnote.

places for dance, festival, and dramatic representation. From this standpoint Jakob Grimm has accounted for the existence of the religious drama by supposing that the primitive heathen delight of the German folk in semi-dramatic festival forced its way into the churches, and that the old sacrificial gatherings, the May festivals, the summer and winter myth plays, etc., must be looked to as the real origin of the German drama.[1] It will be well to consider the evidence in favour of this view at some length, for it lets in a flood of light upon the relation between primitive Teutonic Christianity and the folk among whom it was afterwards to develop.

That the old heathen religion was an essentially dramatic one can scarcely be doubted; we have proof enough not only in written statements, but in a vast number of dramatic folk-customs of heathen origin.[2] We find many cases in which heathen customs were introduced into Christian churches. The German warriors did not hesitate to sing in their new gathering-places ancient war-songs in honour of their new hero Christ, choruses of girls and youths chanted love-glees in the same sacred places,[3] while later both monks and nuns indulged in dances and masquerades directly connected

[1] *Kleinere Schriften*, Bd. v. p. 281.

[2] See *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. pp. 35, 52, 214, 637, etc., and Wackernagel. *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, § 22.

[3] See Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, and compare with Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, 2nd ed. p. 363. The custom of dancing in the churches survived in some places till the second half of the sixteenth and, perhaps, into the seventeenth centuries: see Hartmann, *Weihnacht-Lied u. Spiel*, pp. 44, 45. In a play published by Marriott in his *Collection of English Mysteries* and dealing with the Massacre of the Innocents, we actually find in the poet's epilogue an appeal to the minstrels to use their diligence and "A fore our depertyng geve us a *daunce*" (p. 219). Possibly the reference to the virgins in the prologue (p. 200), who are to "shewe sume sport and plesure," has some bearing on this.

with heathen festivals. The capitularies continually returned to these practices, and most stringently forbid them. "It is not permissible for choruses of laymen and girls to sing songs and prepare banquets in the church," runs a statute of 803; while another of the same century forbids any presbyter to take part in or allow in his presence unseemly clapping, laughing, or foolish stories at funerals, or singing, or shameful games with the bear or with female gymnasts, or the wearing of masks of demons, for "all this is devilish." Other records of a similar date speak of the monks mumming as wolves, foxes, or bears and of other "diabolical" masquerades, which were clearly remnants of the old heathen festivals. Even in the fifteenth century the Church had not freed itself from these strange performances. The 'feast of fools' had become an established institution. A fool-bishop having been chosen with many absurd ceremonies, monks and priests conducted him to the cathedral. With faces smeared with ochre or hidden by hideous masks, clad as women, as beasts, or as jugglers, these clerical mummers proceeded singing and dancing to the very altar-steps. The fool-bishop read the service and gave his benediction, while his bacchanalian following threw dice and ate sausages on the altar itself. The burning of dung and old bits of shoe-leather took the place of incense, and the utmost license and disorder prevailed both inside and outside the sacred building.[1] It is clear that the very clergy

[1] See Mone, B, ii. p. 367, and Flögel, *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*, pp. 225, 460. Among the *Statuta Sinodalia in dioecesi Havelbergensis*, printed at the end of the *Breviarius Havelbergensis*, 1511, we find a "*Statutum Tiderici* in quo prohibetur ludibria lavarum et alias abusiones in ecclesiis fieri sub pena

themselves long joined in heathen scenic festivals which had survived the introduction of Christianity. Thus in Bohemia in the middle of the fourteenth century they still took part in the heathen ritual of the *Expulsion of Death*, accompanying the figure of Death *cum rithmis et ludis supersticiosis* to the river, where it was drowned.[1]

But although customs of the kind described, surviving through many centuries, demonstrate the strength of the folk-passion for religious spectacles, and show how it forced its way into the churches, neither Grimm nor any of his successors have been able to point to a single passage in the earliest of the mediæval religious plays which might be used to support the theory that they have any formal or verbal relation to the old heathen scenic festivals. It is this absence of direct relationship which has led Milchsack, one of the most thorough students of the mediæval drama, to reject entirely Grimm's theory.[2] There is, however, a method of reconciling the views of Grimm and Milchsack which has

excommunicationis." See liii[b] and compare with m. vi[b]. The date of the statute is 1374. According to Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Liber iv. cap. 13. § 11, the feasts of fools arose from the service being performed by children on Innocents' Day. This seems hardly warranted by what we find in the order issued by the Council of Basel in its twenty-first session, and printed by Martene himself. It runs as follows:—

Turpem etiam illum abusum in quibusdam frequentatum Ecclesiis, quo certis anni celebritatibus, nonnulli cum mitra, baculo, ac vestibus pontificalibus, more episcoporum benedicunt, alii ut Reges ac Duces induti, quod festum fatuorum vel Innocentium, seu puerorum in quibusdam regionibus nuncupatur; alii larvales ac theatrales jocos, alii choreas et tripudia marium et mulierum facientes, homines ad spectacula et cachinnationes movent, alii comessationes et convivia ibidem praeparant, haec Sancta Synodus detestans, statuit et jubet (*loc. cit.*)

The whole statute is of interest as showing the prevalence of heathen customs —the *killeh* (p. 132)—within the churches.

[1] See Loserth, *Hus und Wiclif*, p. 35, footnote 2.

[2] Milchsack, *Oster- und Passionsspiele*, p. 10, to be compared, however, with *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. p. 657, etc.

much to be said for it. The absence of all direct connection between the scenic rituals of the old and new religions does not demonstrate that the one was not the effective cause of the other. May not the early Christian missionaries, recognising the hold which religious festival and scenic display had upon the minds of the Germanic peoples, have found it impossible to push their own faith without dramatising its ritual? They found it impossible to repress the love of spectacular festival; nay, they found it forcibly invading their own places of religious gathering. Accordingly they endeavoured to attack heathenism by adopting attractions similar in spirit to its own. Thus the scenic ritual, and ultimately the religious plays, indirectly owe their origin to the very heathen ceremonies which their introduction was designed to repress.[1] Nor was the end proposed in the least achieved. A new formal expression can be given to the spirit of the people, but the essential features of that spirit will remain quite unchanged. We see this truth over and over again manifesting itself in the struggle between western heathenism and eastern Christianity. The *Kirchweih* was designed as a solemn Christian feast to replace old heathen festivals. And what happened to it? The folk seized it as its own, made it the centre for all types of old folk-practices, till the modern *Kirmes* is one of the most fruitful sources of our knowledge of old heathen religious and social customs. Again the early Christian missionary could not root out the old district goddesses; he endeavoured to replace

[1] The view here expressed is not, I think, identical with that of Gustav Freytag in his *De initiis scenicae poesis apud Germanos*, 1838.

them by virgin saints of chaste and holy life. Again what happened? The folk at once found a field for its old polytheistic tendencies, local goddesses reappeared as Christian saints, but with them came back many of the old folk-festivals, and much of the old sexual cult.[1] As in these cases, so it was with the dramatic ritual. It was intended as a solemn scenic effect to counteract heathen habits; but the folk flocked into the churches, took possession of the ritual, and added to it the dancing, the feasting, and the humour which characterise the passion-play. Thus in three typical cases we see the folk moulding oriental Christianity to its own spirit, and making a foreign religion something peculiar and relative to itself.

Nor is the view here expressed simply that of a critic writing many centuries later with but an obscure record of what actually took place in the early days of Germanic Christianity. A writer of much insight, nearer by seven centuries to that folk-struggle for religious festival and dramatic ritual, held much the same opinion. There is an apparently neglected passage in Herrad von Landsberg's great work, the *Hortus Deliciarum*, which runs thus:—

> The old Fathers of the Church, in order to strengthen the belief of the faithful and to attract the unbeliever by this manner of religious service, rightly instituted at the feast of the Epiphany or the Octave religious performances of such a kind as the star guiding the Magi to the new-born Christ, the cruelty of Herod, the dispatch of the soldiers, the lying-in of the Blessed Virgin, the angel warning

[1] In other essays of this volume some references will be found to the *Kirmes* and the local goddess as Christian saint (see pp. 19, 25), but I hope on another occasion to deal more fully with these topics.

the Magi not to return to Herod, and other events of the birth of Christ. But what nowadays happens in many churches? Not a customary ritual, not an act of reverence, but one of irreligion and extravagance conducted with all the license of youth. The priests having changed their clothes go forth as a troop of warriors; there is no distinction between priest and warrior to be marked. At an unfitting gathering of priests and laymen the church is desecrated by feasting and drinking, buffoonery, unbecoming jokes, play, the clang of weapons, the presence of shameless wenches, the vanities of the world, and all sorts of disorder. Rarely does such a gathering break up without quarrelling.[1]

This passage from Herrad's *Hortus* is a peculiarly instructive one; it not only shows us what in the twelfth century was supposed to be the reason for the dramatic ritual,—its aim was to attract unbelievers—but it proves that even at that early date the plays, though still acted in the churches, had advanced beyond the customary ritual, and had attained to a considerable fulness in dramatic details. What appears of still greater interest, however, is the evidence, which Herrad's words afford, that the heathen festivities, which in still earlier days had been associated with the churches and caused grave scandal to the higher ecclesiastics, were in the twelfth century again manifest in connection with the religious dramas acted inside the churches. The views of the abbess of Hohenburg are fully confirmed by a contemporary monk, Gerloh von Reichersberg, (1095-1169), who was head of the chapter-school in Augsburg, *magister scholarum et doctor juvenum.* He writes with the greatest disapproval of the plays of King Herod.[2] Thus we see that the first factor in the

[1] Engelhardt, *loc. cit.* p. 104.

[2] Cited in Hartmann, *Oberammergauer Passionsspiel*, p. 98.

growth of the passion-plays—the heathen love of spectacular display and of religious festival—had already forced the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities in the twelfth century, and at that date the religious drama had advanced far beyond the Church's dramatic ritual.

In order to study the influence of the second factor, the Church ritual, on the growth of the religious drama it will be necessary to consider the nature of that ritual at some length. It will be noticed that Herrad refers especially to dramatic ritual connected with the *birth* of Christ, while it is ritual connected with the passion and resurrection of which we find most evidence. The first is to be looked upon as the prototype of the Herod or Magi plays, while the latter leads up to plays dealing with the crucifixion and death of Christ. The one series of rituals is associated with Christmas, the other with Easter; both alike contribute elements to the developed passion-play. At the very first consideration, however, a difference manifests itself between the Easter and Christmas scenic rituals. The earliest Easter scenic ritual occurs in a manuscript of the eleventh century, and that of the fifteenth century remains practically identical with it. But by the eleventh century we find in existence entire or fragmentary plays of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, of the Birth of Christ, of the Resurrection and the Disciples at Emmaus, and of Herod and the Magi. For example, Weinhold gives two Herod-plays of the ninth to the eleventh century,[1] and Gervinus even mentions one of the fifth century.[2] Mone supposes the

[1] Q. pp. 55 *et seq.*

[2] *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 5th ed. Bd. ii. p. 563, footnote.

religious plays to have sprung directly from the Church ritual,[1] but if this be so, the ritual must have had an earlier origin than we have any manuscript warrant for. Due weight must of course be given to the fact that the ritual actually remained practically constant in form for four centuries, and therefore this ceremonial conservatism may easily have existed for a long period before the eleventh century. If this be the case, the Easter ritual, as we know it, is only a survival of a primitive stage in the life of the religious play; it has continued to exist side by side with its more highly developed offspring. Against this view it may be remarked that there is no sufficient evidence to show that all the eleventh-century plays originally formed parts of the Church ritual. Very possibly they may have been performed by monks and cloister scholars. Latin plays with biblical and other themes—perhaps even those of Terence[2]—appear to have been acted in the cloisters before the religious play in the Church had attained any considerable degree of development. Yet the independent cloister-play[3] can scarcely have been the source of the fully developed passion-play; for if it were, how shall we account for the responses and hymns of the Church scenic ritual

[1] **A**, pp. 13, 14. In **B**, vol. i. pp. 6, 7, 55, Mone holds the origin of the Easter-plays to have been the responses of the Church service, and of the passion-plays the recitation of the gospel.

[2] Hroswitha's anti-Terentian plays certainly suggest this, and Magnin's opinion that they were intended for acting does not seem to me so absurd as to some German critics. It is a curious and important fact that the earliest Herod-plays show traces of classical knowledge on the part of their writers, *e.g.* passages are interpolated from Virgil, Sallust, Claudian, etc. See Du Méril, *Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, p. 164, and **B**, p. 9.

[3] As a typical play belonging to a class independent of Church ritual and evidently of scholastic origin we may note *Der Sündenfall*, although it is of course of much later date, namely, about 1450.

which are to be found in so many of the passion-plays? The Church and the cloister have evidently worked contemporaneously; and we can hardly doubt that the latter was progressive, and exercised much influence in expanding the conservative ritual of the former. But the exact manner of the action and reaction between the two appears at least for the earlier stages of the religious drama to be still very obscure. To the influence of the strolling scholars who wandered from cloister-school to cloister-school, introducing at a later stage of development new and cosmopolitan elements, I shall return below.

The four portions of the Church scenic ritual which chiefly concern us are—(i.) the *Officium Stellae* at the Epiphany or, as it is sometimes termed, the *Officium trium Regum*; (ii.) the *Adoratio Crucis* or *Sepultura Domini* on Good Friday; (iii.) the *Elevatio Crucis* or *Elevatio Corporis Christi* on Easter Eve, or early in the morning of Easter Day; and (iv.) the *Resurrectio* or *Visitatio Sepulchri* during the Easter Day morning service. In addition to these there appears to have been a scenic ritual connected with Christmas, which was probably closely related to the birth-plays and Christmas hymns. A feature of this ritual would undoubtedly have been the singing at the cradle of the Christ-child. A cradle such as the nuns in the fourteenth century used to rock the Christ-child in is exhibited in the National Museum at Munich (Saal III.), and this rocking ceremony in the churches has survived almost to the present day.[1]

[1] See **Q**, p. 49; **R**, p. 24; and **T**, p. 585. The cradle, and Joseph's by-play with it, are special features of the Christmas dramas even as early as the fifteenth century; see Piderit, *Ein Weihnachtsspiel aus einer Hs. des XV. Jahrhunderts*, 1869.

Some account of the Christmas Day ritual is given by Martene (*De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Liber iv. cap. 12, §§ 9 *et seq.*) In most churches the lessons were distributed among several readers, so that the recital might be given a dramatic character. The verses of the Erythræan Sibyl were also read (see Martene, Lib. iv. cap. 12. § 13), to which practice we doubtless owe the Sibyl's appearance in the passion-plays. At Rouen, Nantes, Tours, Laon, etc., there was a ritual similar in character to the office of the Three Kings, which I shall consider later; it was, however, less fully developed. At Rouen a manger was erected behind the altar and the image[1] of the Virgin placed upon it. A boy in the choir, representing an angel, announced the birth of Christ. The shepherds then entered the choir, and going to the manger greeted the Virgin and Child. Their progress was accompanied by the hymn *Pax in terris.* Mass was next celebrated at the altar, and after it the priest said to the shepherds: *Quem vidistis pastores?* to which they replied, *Natum vidimus.* There were only slight variations in the ritual at other French churches. At some, choristers with crooks took the part of the shepherds, but they do not appear to have said more than *Natum vidimus*, or *Infantem vidimus.* It seems singular that no form of this ritual for English or German churches should have been preserved, but I have not been able to find one.

[1] Here, as in other like rituals, the most sacred persons were not at first represented by the clergy themselves, but by symbols or images. Exception must possibly be made in the case of a Besançon Advent ritual in which a well-dressed maiden replied to the deacon, who represented the archangel Gabriel (Martene, Lib. iv. cap. 10. § 30). According to Martene, this ritual dates from the early thirteenth century, and is the first case known to me of a woman taking part in the ritual.

It does not, however, appear that a really comprehensive search has hitherto been made. I pass now to the rituals more closely connected with the passion-plays.

(i.) The *Officium Stellae.*—The earliest version of this ritual that I have come across is published by Martene (*De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Liber iv. cap. 14. § 9) and is entitled *Officium trium Regum secundum usum Ecclesiae Rotomagensis.* Martene merely tells us that he has taken it from "an ancient manuscript" at Rouen, which leaves us in some doubt as to its actual date. It is clearly a ritual so fully developed that it may fairly be termed a religious play, and its comparison with the Orleans[1] and Freising[2] Magi-plays will impress the reader with the amount the religious drama really owes to the Church ritual. The frequency of the ritual is demonstrated by another form from Limoges, given by Martene (§ 12). As the student who has never read through one of these scenic rituals can have little appreciation of their spirit, nor have grasped the extent to which the drama had invaded the Church, I venture to print the Rouen ritual at length, merely requesting the reader who has no interest in mediæval Latin to pass it by with measured protest.[3]

Die Epiphaniae, tertia cantata, tres de majori sede, cappis et coronis ornati, et debent esse scripti in tabula, ex tribus partibus ante altare conveniant, cum suis famulis portantibus Regum oblationes, indutis tunicis et amictis, et debent esse de secunda sede scripti in tabula ad placitum scriptoris. Ex tribus Regibus medius ab Oriente veniens, stellam cum baculo ostendens dicat alte: *Stella fulgore nimio rutilat.* Secundus Rex a dextra parte veniens respondeat:

[1] Wright's *Early Mysteries*, p. 23. [2] Q, pp. 56 *et seq.*

[3] A translation would fail to give much of the character of the original.

Quae Regem regum natum demonstrat. Tertius Rex a sinistra parte veniens dicat: *Quem venturam olim prophetiae signaverant.* Tunc Magi ante altare congregati sese osculentur, et simul cantent: *Eamus ergo, et inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera, Aurum, Thus et Mirrham.* Quo finito, cantor incipiat responsorium: *Magi veniunt.* Et moveat processio. Sequatur aliud responsium, si necesse fuerit: *Interrogabat Magos.* Processione in navi Ecclesiae constituta stationem faciant. Dum autem processio navem Ecclesiae intrare coeperit, corona ante altare crucis pendens ad modum stellae accendatur, et Magi stellam ostendentes ad imaginem S. Mariae super altare crucis prius positam cantantes pergant: *Ecce stella in Oriente praevisa, iterum praecedit nos lucida. Haec, inquam, stella natum demonstrat, de quo Balaam cecinerat dicens: Orietur stella ex Jacob, et exurget homo de Israël, et confringet omnes duces alienigenarum, et erit omnis terra possessio ejus.* Hoc finito, duo de majori sede cum dalmaticis ex utraque parte altaris stantes suaviter respondeant: *Qui sunt hi, qui stella duce nos adeuntes inaudita ferunt?* Magi respondeant: *Nos sumus quos cernitis, Regis Tharsis et Arabum et Sabbae, dona ferentes Christo Regi, nato Domino, quem stella deducente adorare venimus.* Tunc duo dalmaticati aperientes cortinam dicant: *Ecce puer adest, quem quaeritis, jam properate adorare, quia ipse est redemptio mundi.* Tunc procidentes Reges ad terram simul salutent puerum ita dicentes; *Salve princeps saeculorum.* Tunc unus a suo famulo aurum accipiat, et dicat: *Suscipe Rex aurum.* Et offerat Secundus Rex, ita dicat et offerat: *Tolle thus tu vere Deus.* Tertius dicat et offerat mirrham signum sepulturae. Interim fiant oblationes a clero et populo, et dividatur oblatio praedictis duobus canonicis. Tunc Magis orantibus et quasi somno sopitis, quidam puer alba indutus et amicta super caput, quasi angelus in pulpito illis dicat hanc antiphonam: *Impleta sunt omnia quae prophetice dicta sunt. Ite ob viam remeantes aliam ne delatores tanti Regis puniendi eritis.* Hoc finito, Reges secedant per alam Ecclesiae ante fontes, et intrent chorum per ostium sinistrum, et processio intret chorum, sicut consuetum est in Dominicis, cantore incipiente hoc responsorium: *Tria sunt munera.* V. *Salutis,* si necesse fuerit. Ad missam tres Reges regant chorum, qui *Kyrie fons bonitatis, Alleluja, Sanctus,* et *Agnus* cantent.

Such a ceremony as this is Church ritual, if we lay emphasis on the canons and choir as actors, and the

Church responses and hymns which occur. On the other hand it is drama, if we note that the actors are clothed to suit their characters, that there are stage-accessories, the star, the gifts, and the *cortina*,[1] and that gesture and motion are indicated. Indeed, the Church becomes a stage, and the altars, nave, aisle, and choir are all used in a manner very suggestive for the later passion-play arrangements. Lastly, some evidence of the antiquity of the ritual may be drawn from the fact that the divine personages are still only represented by symbols, the cross and the image, as in the early Easter scenic rituals. I will now turn to what is known of these rituals, treating them, however, with less detail.

(ii.) The *Adoratio Crucis*.—The Easter ritual centres round the so-called 'sepulchre.' In most churches there was a permanent sepulchre placed alongside the altar, or in its immediate neighbourhood, and especially designed for the Easter ceremony.[2] In other cases, the sepulchre would be temporarily erected for the rite. Thus occasionally it would consist of a hollow pile of books upon the altar, wherein the sacrament could be placed; at other times, as in the miniature reproduced by Mone,[3] or, as in the case of Tyll Ulenspiegel's prank,[4] it would be capable of containing one or more persons who acted as angels.

The sepulchre having been prepared after nones on

[1] It is not clear whether the *cortina* is a hollow vessel representing the cradle, or the curtain hanging beside the altar.

[2] As to the position and nature of the sepulchre see Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, 5th ed. vol. i. p. 420. The sextons in English village churches will still frequently point out the sepulchre as 'some of the old choir-stalls.'

[3] **B**, vol. i. p. 8. [4] *Die dreizehent Historie* of the *Volkbuch*, see below.

Good Friday, the rood taken from its usual place, or a veiled crucifix, was carried by the officiating clergy with bare feet towards the altar. Here followed the *Adoratio Crucis*, with prayer, response, and hymn, notably the grand—

Crux fidelis inter omnes
Arbor una nobilis, etc.[1]

The rood was gradually unveiled and elevated; then the priest, having washed his hands and brought the host, consecrated on the previous day, to the altar, sings portions of the mass. After this the rood, the *Corpus Christi*, and the chalice, one or all, were deposited in the sepulchre—a ritual symbolic of the entombment. The priest intoned the verse: *In peace his place is made*, and the choir gave the response: *And in Sion his habitation.* So ended the first portion of the Easter ritual.[2] In a rubric to one of its versions we are told that, if the host could not be left under safe custody in the sepulchre for three days, the priest should remove it to his cell after vespers were concluded. Generally, in the larger churches, watchers were appointed to sing psalms and take charge of the sepulchre until Easter Eve or Easter Morn. It will be seen at once that this ritual gives scope for a considerable amount of dramatic action. As in the *Officium Stellae*, the deity is as yet only represented by symbols; but, as in that case,

[1] Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, No. 101.

[2] For the general description here, as in the other two Easter rituals, I have followed as a comprehensive version the *Ordo Augustensis* of 1487 (see G, p. 126, and compare with other versions in the Appendix). So far as the scenic ritual of the resurrection is concerned, this version is identical with those of the eleventh century. It has the advantage, however, of throwing light on the Passion- as well as the Easter-plays.

so in this, several of the responses recur in the passion-play entombment scenes.[1] The widespread character of this ritual, and some interesting variations in type, will be found illustrated in the references given below.[2]

(iii.) The *Elevatio Crucis.*—The elevation of the cross, or the resurrection of the *Corpus Christi*, took place between Easter Eve and Easter Day matins, sometimes in the night. In one version, all the church doors being closed and the populace excluded, the

[1] For example, the *Sepulto Domino* of the ritual (**G**, p. 122) will be found in the *Alsfelder Spiel* (**C**, p. 214), the *Egerer Spiel* (**F**, p. 275), and others.

[2] I have been able from various printed sources to considerably extend the collection published by Dr. Milchsack. In the first place, I may note a *Directorium Missae* for the diocese of Mainz, published without date or printer's name about 1490. On folio a. viii. will be found, in the *De officio in die parasceves*, an *Adoratio Crucis*, with the usual responses and hymns (*Ecce lignum crucis* and *Crux fidelis*). We read:—

Deinde sacerdos officium celebraturus casula indutus accedat ad locum ubi corpus Christi histerna die reservatum fuit.

The host being brought to the altar, the Directory continues:—

Sed sacerdos exuat casulum qua indutus erat accepto corpore Christi in mundissima theta reconditum sive imaginum crucis procedentibus candelis et processione cum pulsu in tabula lignea cantando submissa voce: *Ecce quomodo moritur justus*, usque ad locum sepulchri. Et in eodem loco corpus Christi sive imago sanctae crucis quasi sepeliendo devote ponatur et thurificetur cum incenso et aspergatur aqua benedicta. Et ponantur candelae et lumina apud sepulcrum quae die noctuque usque ad *elevationem crucis* in nocte paschali ardebunt. Et in recessu de sepulcro cantetur sub silencio responsorium; *Sepulto Domino*, quibus omnibus finitis, exuat se et recedat. ¶ In aliquibus ecclesiis legetur psalterium die et nocte apud sepulcrum usque ad elevationem crucis in nocte pasce.

The *Directorium* thus contains evidence of the existence of the *Elevatio Crucis* ritual, although it gives no directions for this, nor for a *Visitatio*. Durandus (*Rationale divinorum Officiorum*, Liber vi. cap. 77. §§ 19 *et seq.*) gives some account of the *Adoration*, but none of the *Sepulture*. Additional information and various rituals will be found in Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Liber iv. cap. 23. § 14 *Adoratio Crucis*, and § 27 *De Officio Sepulturae*, with the texts at the end of the chapter. From English sources a good deal may be extracted. In the earliest portion of the *Leofric Missal* (Warren, A.) there is no ritual for the ceremony, but the Good Friday service ends: *Adorata cruce communicent omnes*, which shows its existence. In the eleventh-century Canterbury Missal (Corpus College, Cambridge) there is a rubric *Adorata sancta cruce et reposita in loco solito* (Warren, p. 96 footnote), which shows that the adoration, but not the deposit of the cross in

officiating priest, "with a few assistants and two candles," raised the host and rood from the sepulchre, where it had been deposited on Good Friday, and carried it to the altar, amid resounding psalms and cries of *Kyrieleyson!* After the host and rood had been thurified with incense, the appointed prayers read, and the responses recited, a procession was formed, and the objects of adoration were carried to the main door of the church. The officiating priest struck this door with his foot and sang: *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors!* The choir continued: *And the King of Glory shall come in!* Then the bishop or other high church official struck the door with a rod.[1] At this a subdeacon, *dressed as the*

the sepulchre, was then usual at Canterbury. In the later portion of the *Leofric Missal* (Warren, C) we have a dramatic incident in the Good Friday ritual at the words: *Partiti sunt vestimenta*, when two cloths were to be torn asunder and carried off by two deacons *in modum furientis* (p. 261). At vespers there was an *Adoratio Crucis*. The cross was placed at some distance in front of the altar, and was adored by bishop, clergy, and people in turn (p. 262). The response *Ecce lignum crucis* and the hymn *Crux fidelis* occur as in the German forms, but, while in the Augsburg ritual it is directed that the cross-bearers shall walk with bare feet, in the Exeter it is ordered that the cross shall not be adored *nudis pedibus*. In the *York Missal* (Surtees Society, vol. i. pp. 105-108) we have a fuller ritual for the *Adoratio Crucis* accompanied by the sepulture: *Tandem adorata cruce bajulent eam duo Vicarii usque ad locum sepulchri . . . Postea Praelatus ponat flexis genibus crucem in sepulchro . . .*, etc. The same ritual in a somewhat amplified form will be found in the *Manuale et Processionale ad usum Ecclesiae Eboracensis* (Surtees Society, 1875, pp. 156-161). Another version of the same ceremony is contained in the *Sarum Missal* (Burntisland) col. 329 *et seq.* On the whole, the English ritual is not nearly so developed as the German. It may be more primitive, or the need for dramatic ritual may have been less. An account of a very complete *Adoratio Crucis*, sepulture and resurrection, which was formerly the custom at Durham will, however, be found in Davies, *Rites of the Cathedral of Durham*, 1672, p. 52. In this case the rood appears to have been kept not in the rood-loft, but inside the body of an image of the Virgin, which opened from the breasts downwards.

[1] There is a somewhat similar incident in the processional for Palm Sunday given in the *Rituale Romanum Pauli V Pont. Max. jussu editum Romae, 1750.* It runs thus: "In reversione Processionis duo vel quattuor Cantores intrant in Ecclesiam et clauso ostio stantes versa facie ad Processionem incipiunt Versum

Devil and standing outside the door, cried in a gruff voice: *Who is the King of Glory?* The choir responded: *The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.* The blow on the door and the above responses were thrice repeated. The door was then opened, the populace admitted, and the choir and ecclesiastics form the head of a procession, which marched to the altar with the appropriate 139th Psalm and the *Kyrieleyson.*[1] The host was then elevated, and the priest sang the hymn:[2]—

O vere digna hostia
per quam fracta sunt Tartara.

Afterwards the Easter matins were conducted in the customary form.[3]

We have in this ceremony a most important factor in the development of the passion-plays. The ritual itself is based upon the account given in the *Gospel*

Gloria laus . . . Postea Subdiaconus hastili crucis percutit portum qua statim aperta Processio intrat Ecclesiam cantando Responsorium: *Ingrediente Domino.*" A still fuller form of this ceremony even, with the *Attolite portas* and *Quis est iste Rex gloriae* of the office of the *Elevatio Crucis*, has been printed by Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Liber iv. cap. 20. § 14, and Ordo 4 & 8.

[1] In one version, a rubric states that the Guild of Butchers are to carry the cross back to the altar,—the thin end of the popular wedge.

[2] Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, No. 161.

[3] Concerning the *Elevatio Crucis* our information is more scanty than in the case of the *Adoratio Crucis*. Beyond the rituals given by Milchsack I can refer to none with the devil incident. The *Breviarius Havelbergensis*, 1511, gives a simple elevation *in sancta nocte pasce* (c. iiii[b]). The *York Manual and Processional* (p. 170) runs:—

In aurora pulsatis campanis ad classicum congregato clero et populo, flexis genibus dicitur *Oratio Dominicalis* et postea Sacerdos thurificet sepulchrum et proferatur sacramentum cum imagine cum corona spinea.

In a footnote the editor quotes two other rituals. In the first of these (St. John Lawson's MS. *Manuale*, A.D. 1405) the *pyxidem cum Corpore et crucem* were raised from the sepulchre; in the second (the *Sarum Processional*), after the *Corpus Christi* and cross had been raised from the sepulchre, a procession went round the

of Nicodemus (chapters xv.-xx.) of the descent into hell, where use is made of the 24th Psalm. Supplemented by further extracts from that gospel, it forms the entire backbone of the popular hell-scenes of the passion-plays.[1]

We can scarcely doubt the *Elevatio* is as old as the *Visitatio*, which immediately follows; and we may safely assume that we have here the first origin of the Devil as a character in the religious drama — a character which in after ages became all-prominent, and acted as a centre for the introduction of popular and comic incidents into the original tragedy of the Passion. In the form of the ritual given above, the populace are excluded from the church while the ceremony of the resurrection takes place. They stand outside with the Devil, and are only admitted when the procession, returning to the altar, signifies the ascent from hell. The opportunity thus given to the 'subdeacon dressed as the devil' for a little pantomime, while the ceremony went on inside, is obvious. The exclusion, however, was not universal. Sometimes the ritual was prefixed to the matins, and formed an integral part of the service; at

church. It seems doubtful in this case whether the public were admitted. We read: "Ante missam et ante campanarum pulsationem conveniant clerici ad Ecclesiam." Compare also Martene, *loc. cit.* Liber iv. cap. 25. §§ 5, 7. In an *Ordo Bajocensis Ecclesiae* printed by Martene the populace is expressly mentioned as being present. In his § 9 we read: "In pervetusto etiam libro rituali Parthenonis Pictaviensis S. Crucis haec reperio: In prima vigilia noctis Paschae duo Presbyteri revestiti cum cappis pergunt ad sepulchrum . . . Inde elevatur et defertur Corpus Dominicum ad majus altare, praecedentibus cereis et thuribulis et pulsantibus signis." I think it in nowise possible to accept Milchsack's view that the populace were always excluded from the *Elevatio*. It may have been done in certain localities to repress heathen practices or beliefs, which, as I have remarked, were only too readily associated with the ceremony, but it was certainly not general.

[1] F, p. 284; I, p. 141; C, p. 224; D, p. 88; B, vol ii. p. 341, etc.

others, being performed at night, it collected, we hear, a great crowd of men and women, a superstition having arisen that those who witnessed the *Elevatio* would not die within the year. On this account a Synod at Worms in 1316 ordered that the public should be excluded from the office.[1]

(iv.) *The Visitatio Sepulchri.*—The last portion of the scenic Easter ritual was the visitation of the sepulchre by the three Maries. Of this ritual, from its most primitive form in the eleventh-century manuscripts to its growth into an almost independent religious play, Milchsack has collected upwards of thirty examples (see **G**). In the earliest versions two or three priests clad as women, with cloaks over their surplices and censers in their hands,[2] went between the last response and the *Te Deum* to the sepulchre, from which, before matins, the elevation had taken place. They chanted: *Who will roll away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?* Two persons clothed to represent angels answered from the sepulchre: *Whom seek ye in this sepulchre, O worshippers of Christ?* The Maries replied: *Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified, O Sons of heaven.*[3] To which came the response: *He is not here, he has arisen as he prophesied.* The Maries then swung their censers over the sepulchre, and the angels

[1] **G**, p. 119 footnote.

[2] I have already referred to the miniature reproduced by Mone (**B**, vol. i. p. 8) of three priests representing the three Maries. A fragment of a *Visitatio* scene, representing a priest or monk dressed as an angel, with thurible in hand, is built into the wall of the south side of Higham Ferrers Church.

[3] Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o christicolae?
Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o coelicolae!

The whole is taken from Mark xvi. 3-7.

continued: *Go announce that he has arisen from the dead.* With this the priests returned to the choir, and the *Te Deum* of the morning service followed.[1] Such a primitive form is, however, exceptional. In most cases the ritual, or play—for there is little to distinguish them—begins with a hymn or series of responses as an introduction, various portions of which are still retained in the fully developed passion-plays. In a twelfth-century version from Einsiedeln we find a double choir, one half of which represents the prophets, and chants the fine Christmas hymn:[2]—

Gloriosi et famosi
regis festum celebrantes
  gaudeamus,
cuius ortum, vitae portum,
nobis datum praedicantes
  habeamus, etc.

Then there is an expanded dialogue, and the action is

[1] I may add a few references to rituals not given by Milchsack. The *Breviarius Havelbergensis* of 1511 (c. iiii[b]) orders that in churches where the holy and praiseworthy custom of the visitation of the sepulchre is maintained, it shall be performed without *ludibrio seu qua vanitate*, and according to the local use. It should conclude with *Christ ist upgestanden* from the folk, and the *Te Deum*. The *Breviarium Frisingense* of 1516 (fol. 197[b]) has the rubric *fit interea processio ad sepulchrum; et ibi representatur planctus mulierum sepulchrum visitantium; angelorum quoque apparitio Christi resurrectionem nunciantium*. The words of the dialogue given are of the primitive type above referred to, but they conclude with: *Populus: Christ ist erstanden, Chorus: Te Deum*. The introduction of the vernacular into these rituals is of interest. Much valuable information as to the *Visitatio* will be found in Martene, *loc. cit.* Liber iv. cap. 25. In § 17 we have a primitive form from Tours; in § 11 a peculiarly interesting and full form from Narbonne (cf. Milchsack, **G**, p. 58). In § 8 there is a primitive form from Laon ending with the *Victimae Paschali*. In columns 500-507 (Antwerp edition, T. iii.) will be found various other rituals from Strasburg, Vienne, etc. At Vienne there appear to have been two distinct forms, one based on the sequence *Victimae Paschali* and the other on the gospel narrative. As a rule, but not quite invariably, the ceremony is stated to have concluded with the *Te Deum*.

[2] **B**, vol. i. p. 10; **G**, p. 36.

not ended when the two or three Maries[1] return to the choir. There they announced the resurrection to two of 'the older and more worthy canons,' who represent Peter and John. These two elders, while the choir chant John xx. 4, run to the grave, *sed junior citius seniore*, and receiving from the angels the burial linen, exhibit it to the congregation. They return to the choir chanting, *Behold, O comrades, the linen and the napkin, the body is not to be found in the sepulchre.*[2]

Still further development was attained by increasing the lamentations of the three Maries, by a dialogue between Peter and John; and then by the introduction of an entirely new scene between Mary Magdalen and Christ as the gardener.[3] With this it might be thought that the gospel narrative, so far as it could be used in a scenic ritual, had been exhausted. But this is by no means the case. Pilate can be introduced sending soldiers to the sepulchre, and then bribing them to conceal the fact of the resurrection. Jesus, having once been introduced as the gardener, and no longer merely represented by the rood or host, can have his part widely extended; we can have his appearance to the Twelve, and the scene with the unbelieving Thomas. Nay, the playwright, for so we must now call him, remembering the verse which states that the three Maries had bought sweet spices (Mark xiv. 1), soon inserted a colloquy between the women and the dealer in spices. All these elements have already

[1] Mary Magdalen, Mary Salome, and Mary the mother of James (*Maria Jacobi*). [2] See G, p. 51. [3] G, pp. 66, 71, 75.

been added to the primitive ritual in the twelfth-century mystery from Tours.[1]

In this play we see at once what an advance has been made on the primitive ritual, which still, for several centuries, remained current in various localities in its original form. The Tours Mystery was still intended to be given in the church (*Maria Magdalene in sinistra parte ecclesiae stans*), and probably during the Easter morning service,[2] yet the author has raised scenic ritual to religious drama. Here, albeit in the language of the Church, we have many touches which have won a permanent place for themselves in the great folk passion-plays. Here we find the first actually authenticated case[3] of a comic incident in the treatment of the *mercator*—the later 'medicine-man'—who boasts the wondrous properties of his drugs. "Come," he cries, "buy this ointment, and you will do well":—

> Quod si corpus possetis ungere,
> non amplius posset putrescere,
> neque vermes possent commedere.

Another salve possessed such wondrous potency that it cannot be sold for a small price:—

> Hoc unguentum, si multum cupitis,
> unum auri talentum dabitis,
> ne aliter unquam portabitis.

This *mercator* is the prototype of *Magister Ypocras*, whose salves possess the power of bringing

[1] *Drames liturgiques*, E. de Coussemaker; and G, p. 97.

[2] It concludes, like the scenic rituals, with the *Te Deum*. Owing to the loss of the first page of the manuscript, we do not know how it commenced.

[3] The Devil in the *Elevatio* ritual, and the race of Peter and John to the sepulchre in the *Visitatio* ritual, would probably be regarded by the folk as humorous, but we cannot assert that they were at first actually intended to be so.

the dead to life again, and who drives the hardest possible bargain with the three Maries (C, pp. 236 *et seq.*) It is very significant that in the German sixteenth-century play, with its highly developed medicine-man, the same Latin words are sung by the actors before they speak in the vernacular as occur in the twelfth-century French mystery.[1]

Thus we see that in France as early as the twelfth century the scenic ritual had developed into a fairly complex Church drama; nor is Germany—to judge from manuscript evidence—much, if anything, behind hand, for we have from the thirteenth century a play of the nativity with nearly thirty characters and further a passion-play wherein we find transferred to a salve-dealer, from whom Mary Magdalen buys ointment to anoint Christ, the very words used by the *mercator* to the Maries in the Tours Mystery.[2] Clearly between 1150 and 1250 there was some cosmopolitan element at work forcing the pace at which the scenic ritual developed, and introducing folk-elements of a scarcely religious character. This leads us to the cloister scholars as the third factor in the evolution of the passion-play.

The two German plays to which we have just referred occur in the middle of a manuscript of the thirteenth century which formerly belonged to the abbey of Benedictbeuern, and can hardly fail to have been the production of the cloister scholars. The remainder of this manuscript is occupied with Latin poems of a very typical character. Exactly the same or very similar

[1] The earliest (c. 1300) German passion-play gives a quite original sketch of the pedlar or *paltenaere* taking out a license from Pilate: see W, i.

[2] See J, pp. 80, 85.

poems are to be found in several English and French manuscripts of a like date.[1] These poems were the common property of the wandering clerks or strolling scholars—men who, in pre-university days, wandered over the face of Europe from teacher to teacher, and from cloister-school to cloister-school, seeking theology in Paris, classical literature in Orleans, law in Bologna, and perhaps magic in Toledo. They were young, poor, merry, and often vagabond. They would create a riot in Paris about the high price of wine, or a disturbance in Orleans on account of the charms of a fair but frail damsel. They were mostly in lower clerical orders or were about to enter them, for their education could only be of service to them in the Church. Adepts in the Latin tongue, they did not hesitate to turn it to both religious and secular purposes; religious drama, processional hymn, love-song, and satire were all one to them, and what the Church lost by their license, she did not fail to regain by their Latinity. Some of the finest Church hymns and some of the tenderest mediæval songs to the Virgin were most probably the creation of these strolling scholars. Such men, with their command of language, their love of amusement, their folk-origin, their semi-clerical and cosmopolitan character, were eminently fitted for developing the scenic ritual into a religious folk-drama. It was they who introduced the

[1] Besides the *Carmina Burana* (see J), the reader may consult *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Wright, 1841; *Die X Gedichte des Walther von Lille*, Hannover, 1859; *Gedichte auf Friederich I. den Staufer*, J. Grimm (*Kleinere Schriften*, Bd. iii. p. 1); *Poésies populaires latines*, ed. Edelstand du Méril, Paris, 1843 and 1847; *Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems*, ed. Wright, 1844. The best account of the strolling scholars is to be found in Giesebrecht, *Vaganten oder Goliarden*, *Allgemeine Monatsschrift*, Halle, 1853; see also Hubatsch, *Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters*, Görlitz, 1870.

folk-spirit and the vernacular; they helped largely in that complete transformation of Eastern Christianity which turned its fast-day into a festival, its holy day into a holiday, and satisfied the wants of the populace for a festive and dramatic religion comparable with the old heathen faith. The strolling scholars naturally took part in the dramatic performances of the cloister-schools; such performances were not infrequent and their texts fairly developed even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Then, as the scenic Church ritual grew in extent, and its requirements exceeded the strength of the resident clergy,—as might easily be the case in non-monastic or in parish churches,—a strolling clerk was called in to assist. It appears probable that the whole of the Easter scenic ritual was occasionally entrusted to a company of strolling scholars; and then they readily expanded the somewhat elastic ritual, or even re-wrote the bulk of the dialogue.[1] Nor can there be

[1] Besides the strolling-scholar plays printed by Schmeller in the *Carmina Burana*, there are three plays due to Hilarius dating from the first half of the twelfth century and of a like character (see Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarius, Versus et Ludi*, Paris, 1838). That Hilarius was a genuine Golliard his satirical verses *De papa scolastico* (p. 41) demonstrate. In the first two of his plays, the *Suscitatio Lazari* (p. 24) and the *Ludus super iconia Sancti Nicolai* (p. 34), we have a mixture of Latin and French, precisely as in the corresponding German plays we have a mixture of Latin and German. For example, a verse of Mary's lamentation in the first play runs:—

Ex culpa veteri
Damnantur posteri
Mortalis fieri.
Hor ai dolor
Hor est mis frere morz
Por que gei plor.

The same play ends with a significant rubric, showing that it was intended to be acted at matins or vespers in church: Quo finito, si factum fuerit ad matutinas Lazarus incipiat *Te Deum Laudamus*, si vero ad vesperas *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*.

Another play due to the strolling scholars is the remarkable *De adventu Antichristi* (see **N**), due to the twelfth century. At the end of the next century we

much doubt as to the direction in which they strove to develop the religious drama. To win the popular approval meant at least a good meal when the play was over.[1] There is both direct and indirect evidence connecting several early plays with the Golliards. Thus in the thirteenth-century Benedictbeuern play we find Mary Magdalen, before her conversion, singing a well-known strolling-scholar drinking-song :—

Mundi delectatio
dulcis est et grata
cuius conversatio
suavis et ornata,[2]

and buying—this time in the vernacular—rouge of the *mercator* in order to entice her lovers :—

Chramer, gip die varwe mir
diu min wengel roete,
da mit ich die jungen man
an ir danch der minnenliebe noete.
Seht mich an,
jungen man!
Lat mich eu gefallen![3]

must certainly credit them with the *Ludus de decem Virginibus* (see O), we read : "Ludus est factus apud Isinach in orto ferarum (Thiergarten) a clericis et a scholaribus de decem Virginibus, cui ludo marchio intererat" (Chronicle of 1335, cited O, pp. 3, 4). For evidence of the handiwork of the scholars in the Bohemian plays, see U, pp. 47, 84.

[1] More than one of the later German passion-plays conclude with the request that the scholars may receive a good meal (see I, p. 30 ; A, p. 144 ; B, i. p. 264 footnote ; and F, p. 326). Something of the same kind seems to be the drift of Gratemauvaiz's speech at the end of *La Nativité de Jhésu-Christ* (Jubinal, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 77). The meal to the actors was often kept up even in the case of the great passion-plays. In Frankfurt three days after the play the Town Council gave the performers a breakfast. In the expenses of the Coventry Mysteries for 1490 we find entries for ale, gallons of beer, wine, ribs of beef, and geese figure largely. See also Appendix II.

[2] J, p. 96. The very same song occurs 200 years later in a *Ludus Mariae Magdalenae in gaudio* (I, p. 105).

[3] "Pedlar, give me rouge to colour my cheeks that I may force the youths to thought of love. Look, youth, at me, and let me delight you."

Pedlar and youth reply to the Magdalen in German, and we thus have evidence of the strolling scholars directly introducing the native tongue. In the same play Mary, after her conversion by an angel, strips off her gay clothing, upon which her lover and the devil fly from her. She then goes to buy the ointment. Most of the incidents of the Passion are given shortly and in Latin, but it is noteworthy that the lamentations of the Magdalen over her sin, those of the Virgin at the death of her Son, and the final songs of Joseph of Arimathaea and of Pilate are in the vernacular.

This example must suffice to indicate how the tendency of these vagabond scholars was to secularise the religious play. At the same time their cosmopolitan rovings fully account for the close resemblances in both incidents and words between French and German plays of the most distant districts. The incident of the *mercator* occurring in plays scattered all over Europe from France to Bohemia[1] is no more accidental than the recurrence in manuscripts from all quarters of the same strolling-scholar Latin songs and hymns. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the strolling scholars are perpetually classed with wandering minstrels, actors, *joculatores*, jesters, and buffoons. There is still in existence the song of a strolling scholar, one John of Nürnberg, of the fourteenth century, who bemoans in his *Vita Vagorum* his own hard life. He tells us how he must go about as a medicine-man to cure the parson's maid of wrinkles, how

[1] For Bohemia see U, p. 72.

he no longer frequents the courts of archbishops and prelates, but associates with the dregs of society—he has become a magician, a hawker of wonders, and a quack.[1] Such a song casts considerable light on the life of the vagabond scholar, who developed the part of the *mercator*, the pedlar of the passion-plays. He is a man of the people, and he moulds the religious play in the spirit of the people. He played a noteworthy part in the adaptation of Christianity to the needs of mediæval man.

The capture of the religious drama by the people was not, of course, achieved entirely through the agency of the strolling scholars. There is a rubric to one of the scenic rituals which clearly illustrates another route by which the folk-spirit penetrated into the ecclesiastical citadel. It runs as follows:—

> It is allowable for those who peradventure cannot find persons of this type (*i.e.* the necessary clergy) to perform the Visitation of the Sepulchre after the above manner with other persons, if they be of becoming and discreet behaviour.[2]

This rubric left a considerable latitude to the local clergy—themselves sons of the people—and the following incident from *Tyll Ulenspiegel*[3] will sufficiently exemplify what sort of persons in the fifteenth century, and probably long before, were considered in country places to be of 'becoming and discreet behaviour.'

[1] Grimm, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, ii. p. 49.

[2] **G**, p. 129. The rubric was probably common long before the fifteenth century, when we first find it attached to a very primitive form of the ritual.

[3] *XIII Historie*, ed. Lappenberg, p. 16.

Now as Easter approached the parson said to Ulenspiegel, his sacristan: "It is the custom here that the peasants every Easter give in the night an Easter-play of how our Lord arose from the grave." And so he (Tyll) must help, since it were fitting that the sacristan should arrange such matters. Then Ulenspiegel thought: How now shall the peasants get through this Mary-play? And he said to the parson: "There is no peasant here who is learned enough; you must lend me your maid, who can both write and read." Then said the parson: "So be it, take all who can help you, man or woman; my maid, indeed, has acted often enough before." The housekeeper was right glad, and wished to be the angel in the grave, for she knew the requisite verses by heart. Then Ulenspiegel took unto himself two peasants that they might play with him the three Maries, and he taught one peasant the Latin verses. And finally, the parson was our Lord, who had to arise from the grave. Now when Ulenspiegel came before the sepulchre with his two peasants dressed as Maries, the housekeeper, as the angel, recited the Latin verse, *Quem queritis?*[1] Whom seek ye here? Then said the peasant who represented the first Mary, even as Ulenspiegel had taught him: "We seek an old, one-eyed, parson's concubine!"[2]

The resulting catastrophe may be easily imagined. The angel sprang from the grave and rushed in a fury at the Maries. In the scuffle which followed, her wings were knocked off; then the parson dropped his resurrection-banner and came to her assistance. A scene

[1] See our account of the Visitation ritual, p. 299.

[2] This defect in vision appears to have been common to the class. Thus a *Cellarius* complains in the *Consultatio Sacerdotum*:—

> me regit una bestia, sinerem salire,
> sed meretrix monocula renuit abire.
>
> *Poems of Walter Mapes*, p. 175.

The widespread existence of these women deserves a careful consideration, when the moral aspect of Catholic asceticism is considered. Much information will be found in the Church visitations of the sixteenth century, but more, perhaps, in mediæval literature. Considerable insight may be gained from a perusal of the Heidelberg *quodlibet* disputation, *De fide concubinarum in Sacerdotes*, edited by Crato of Udenheim about 1500 and often reprinted.

of wild confusion arose round the sepulchre, which Ulenspiegel noting

removed himself opportunely, and ran out of the church and from the village, and came not again that way. God show them where to find another sacristan!

The above narrative—putting on one side its farcical termination—is instructive. It shows us the general arrangements and the character of the persons employed in rural districts. We note that the time is the night following Easter Eve, and thus the play was not invariably given at Easter Matins, as supposed by Milchsack. The angel is winged,[1] and the deity no longer represented by a symbol, *e.g.* the cross. The parson, who carries a banner—the resurrection-banner with a cross on it—now acts the part of Christ. The gradual growth from cross to banner and then to banner-bearer appears clear, and this fossil, the cross-banner, remains not only in the greater passion-plays, but in woodcuts and pictures.[2]

From the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries we find that the plays, although still acted in the churches,[3]

[1] The angels in the Narbonne ritual (Martene, *loc. cit.* Liber iv. cap. 25. § 9) are "induti albis et amictibus cum stolis violatis et sindone rubea in facies eorum et *alis in humeris*."

[2] See for example both the larger and smaller woodcut passions of Albrecht Dürer. This banner occurs not only in the resurrection, but also in the descent into hell. It appears very early; thus we find it in the descent into hell in the *Antiphonary* of St. Peter's at Salzburg (1092-1120). In the *Codex Ottoburanensis* (*circa* 1200) Christ is seen prodding the devil-dragon with the end of the banner stock. Three centuries later, in the famous Cranach altar-piece at Weimar, we find Christ trampling on Death and Devil, and thrusting them down with the resurrection-banner.

[3] In 1303 Robert de Brunne translated an Anglo-French poem written about 1250, the *Manuel de Peché*. We find therein the lines:—

> He may yn the cherche, thrugh thys resun,
> Pley the resurreccyun,

which shows that the plays were then usually performed in church.

were more and more popularised owing to the changes we have indicated in the nature of the dialogue and the character of the participating *personnel*. The folk-passion for theatrical representation had reasserted itself in religion, even in the most sacred sphere of Church ritual. The very instrument designed by the Church to destroy the delight of the people in heathen spectacular festivals was taken by the people into their own hands, and used to supply a want which, although it arises from the same emotions as produce popular religions, is none the less scarcely ecclesiastical. The most striking sign of this folk-influence was the growing use of the vernacular. The Latin verses, sung or chanted, were immediately followed by German translations (or often amplifications) for the benefit of the unlettered. The end of the thirteenth century and the fourteenth century present us with extraordinary medleys; portions of the old scenic ritual, the noblest hymns of the Church, and dramatised words of Scripture, were curiously intermingled with the homeliest of folk-phrases and folk-ideas.[1]

At such a period of transition a new factor of growth seems to have come directly or indirectly into action.

[1] See **L**, vol. ii. pp. 272 *et seq.* Also the St. Gallen passion-play (**B**, vol. ii. p. 72), wherein the actors first *sing* in Latin and then *speak* in German; the *Maria Himmelfahrt* and the *Auferstehung Christi* (**A**, particularly pp. 139 *et seq.*); and even later in the *Erlauerspiele* (iii. and iv. of **I**). The Play of the Foolish Virgins (see **O**), composed about 1300, is peculiarly such a medley. The stage-directions are all in Latin; Latin responses, antiphones, and hymns, and slightly altered Vulgate verses are frequent, but the body of the play is in a crude and lame Thüringian dialect. The customary Latin hymns and verses of the Easter ritual, followed by German adaptations and expansions, occur in the Easter-play printed by Schönemann (**M**, p. 149), etc. Precisely the same mixture of Latin and vernacular occurs in the Bohemian plays from about 1400 (see **U**, pp. 26 *et seq.*)

The great mediæval religious epics written in the vernacular could hardly fail to influence the translators and adapters of the Latin Church plays. Long before the fourteenth century Latin had ceased to be the chief language for religious lyric and epic. From the eleventh century onwards there is a continuous and increasing production of religious poems in the German tongue; on the one side we have the lyric hymns to the Virgin, on the other the epic legends of the saints and the lives of Christ and of his Mother. In the thirteenth century the passion for religious epics reached its climax. The same spirit as we have noted in the chronicles and the early history-books, the conception of the world-drama centring round the person of Christ, manifests itself in an endeavour to represent the story of Christ as a great world-epic. Thus one noteworthy poem, laying in its title, *The Redemption*,[1] emphasis on the moral solution of the world-problem,[2] takes us from the Creation to the Day of Judgment, and gives an especially dramatic colouring and language to the events of the Passion.

Another—the *Passional*[3]—in more than 100,000 lines describes the birth of the Virgin and that of Christ, then follow the gospel narrative, the lives of the disciples and the apostles, and, finally, of all the saints from Nicholas to Catherine. These two poems alone are an immense storehouse of mediæval thought

[1] *Die Erlösung*, edited by K. Bartsch, 1858.

[2] The reader may turn to what has been said as to this point on pp. 256-259.

[3] *Das alte Passional*, Parts i. and ii., Hahn, 1845, and *Das Passional*, Part iii., Köpke, 1852. These books are of first-class importance for the student of mediæval art.

and feeling, and their study would serve equally well with that of the passion-plays as an introduction to the mediæval spirit. Here we can only refer to them as influences working potently on the adapters of the thirteenth-century Church plays. The influence of *The Redemption*, in particular, is so great that Milchsack has not hesitated to attribute all the German passion-plays to a common original, which was itself a dramatised version of *The Redemption*.[1] If the liturgical basis of so many scenes in the plays, and the existence at a very early date of incidents common to the French, English, and German plays, seems to exclude this rather extreme theory, we may still admit that the religious epics exercised very great influence on the development of the Church dramas in a folk-direction.

While the passion-plays in the course of the fifteenth century grew from elements of the Church service into great folk-dramas lasting two or three days, they never entirely freed themselves from their original liturgical character. In most of them Latin Church hymns remained, and to the very last we find almost without exception the stage-directions given in Latin.[2] But the Church ritual had another and more indirect influence over the folk-drama; it gave the passion-plays their *operatic* character. It is not only the choruses of children at the triumphal entry[3] who sing, but so does the High Priest,[4] the Magdalen, and the Virgin. Even Christ himself at the Last Supper and upon the Cross

[1] See **G**, p. 21, and **E**, p. 295. Compare the sounder views of Kummer in **I**, Einleitung, p. lii.

[2] *E.g.* **F**, pp. 120-125.

[3] Some relics of this usage have possibly survived even in the drama of to-day.

[4] **F**, pp. 149, 150.

sings his part.[1] A play which, at the moment of its climax,—the death on the cross—directs that the chief part is to be sung and gives the music can only be classed as an opera. Hitherto the musical side of the passion-play does not seem to have been sufficiently emphasised; it may fairly be called the parent of the modern *oratorio*. Thus we see the song of the old heathen folk-festival appearing in a new form in the religious drama; as we shall see later, it was not long before an excuse was found for the introduction of the dance.

With the rapid growth of the passion-play, when once the folk-element had become predominant, we cannot now deal at length; indeed, the material necessary for a complete review of its later growth is only just being published.[2] It must suffice to say that, literally and figuratively, the folk carried the religious drama from the Church onto the market-place.[3] There, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, it attained to its fullest bloom. A sketch of such a fully developed play I shall later place before the reader, meanwhile it is needful to say something of the mediæval stage and its accessories.

[1] **F**, pp. 120-125. See also p. 348, and the stage-directions of almost all the passion-plays already cited.

[2] *E.g.* in 1882.

[3] Probably the first step to the market-place was the churchyard, or, as in Freiburg, the cathedral close. Of course the drama did not at once, or indeed ever entirely, desert the church. Plays appear in England to have been given in connection with the churches even after the Reformation: see Appendix II. At the beginning of this century Magi-plays were still performed after mass in some of the churches of Upper Bavaria (see **R**, p. 34). At Zuckmantel, even in this century, the first part of the passion-play was acted in the church, the crucifixion on a neighbouring hill (see **Y**, p. 11).

V.—*On the Stage, Stage Furniture, Costumes, and Symbols of the Passion-Play*

The Stage.—Nothing appears more suggestive of the ecclesiastical origin of the passion-play than the arrangement of the stage. The two forms of stage with which we are acquainted may be described not unfitly as the flat stage and the elevated stage; the former was more common in Germany, the latter in France, but there were no rigid geographical or national limitations. In both cases the stage consisted, as a rule, of three divisions, but the origin as well as purport of these divisions in the two stages were quite different. There has been considerable discussion as to the reason for these two forms of stage having been adopted, but it appears to me that, if due weight be given to scenic church ritual as a primitive source of the religious drama, then considerable light will fall on the stage arrangements from a consideration of the internal divisions of a mediæval cathedral or church. In such a building it will be found that the choir is usually raised several feet above the nave. Underneath the choir is frequently a crypt, the entrance to which is either in the middle or at the side of the steps leading up from the nave.[1] Within the choir there is usually a gallery of some sort,[2] the

[1] Compare Keller's *Baurias des Klosters St. Gallen vom Jahr 820.* The cases of many cathedrals will occur to the reader. There is a church at Lastingham, in Yorkshire, with such a crypt, but the rood-loft has disappeared. The St. Gallen Church had a gallery behind the altar.

[2] The rood-loft, or at least its staircase, can be found in many English parish churches. There is a gallery round the choir in Gloucester Cathedral; one behind the altar in Compton Church, Surrey. The sepulchre at Bampton Church, Oxfordshire, is built in *two* stories, the upper was probably used for the

triforium, the rood-loft, or even a gallery running along the top of the choir-stalls, and in some cases behind the altar. This gallery will be reached by a staircase or by steps from the choir. Now such an arrangement is eminently suited for the Easter scenic ritual. The door of the crypt serves for the gate of hell, the main body of the choir containing the sepulchre for earth, while the rood-loft or gallery represents heaven. Where the folk were admitted to the *Elevatio Crucis* (see p. 295), the main door of the church could not represent hell-gate, but some other had to be selected, and the door into the crypt was a very suitable place for the subdeacons, who represented Satan and his followers, to stand. It is further to be noted that the rood, symbolising the deity, after being taken from its 'usual place' on Good Friday and placed in the sepulchre, was restored after the *Elevatio* on Easter Day.[1] Now the 'usual place' for the rood is either the rood-loft, if one exists, or above the altar, or above the entrance to the choir. The removal of the rood marks the earthly mission, the descent from heaven; its replacement the fulfilment of the mission, and the return to heaven. Gallery, choir, and crypt thus obtain a new significance, they are the heaven, earth, and hell of the scenic ritual; and their relative elevations are in accordance with folk-belief.

'heaven.' On the left of the sepulchre there is a door which may well have stood for hell-gate. This arrangement should be compared with an engraving by the Swabian master (E. S.), dating from 1466, in honour of Our Lady of Einsiedeln; below there is a sepulchre, above the Virgin and the Trinity in a gallery. Compton Church, with its altar-gallery, has also a sepulchre which is reproduced in the *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 422.

[1] *Deinde crucifixum reponitur ad locum suum solitum*, Augsburg Ritual, G, pp. 129, 132.

Fig. 3.—Heaven as a Gallery. By the Master E. S. *To face p.* 316.

stage; and, as it is probable that the so-called 'houses' were only spaces marked by posts at the corners, there may, after all, have been no difficulty in a stationary spectator hearing and seeing all that was going on. The only definite measurement I have come across is that which may be based on the stage-directions of the Freiburg passion-play given in the manuscript of 1604. The stage in this case was not divided, but the actors made their exits and their entrances at what we may term the 'wings.' Readers who have visited Freiburg will remember the fine old fifteenth-century *Kaufhaus* which immediately faces the south door of the cathedral. The passion-play stage was built right across the cathedral yard from the south porch to the portico of the *Kaufhaus*. Thus we read in the stage-directions:[1] "While the Jews surround Christ, the disciples are to fly to the *Kaufhaus*"; "The Council stand up and retire to the *Kaufhaus*, the Jews lead Christ into the *Minster*"; and "Judas comes out of the *Minster*," etc. At this point the cathedral yard must be from 110 to 120 feet broad, which will give some notion of the size of the stage in the sixteenth century. As in the case of the elevated stage, the spectators would take their places on both sides, which was thus very suitably termed a 'bridge.'[2] The flat stage, although chiefly adopted in Germany, was still well known in France.[3]

[1] **K**, pp. 124, 134, 159, 161, etc.

[2] *Brügc, Britsche, Brücke.* See **K**, pp. 69, 118; also Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, i. 347; and compare with **B**, vol. i. p. 22, etc.; vol. ii. p. 24. See further **D**, pp. 50, 53 ("über die prugk").

[3] A complete account of such a stage, with *les mansions*, is given in the opening verses of the play, *La Résurrection du Sauveur, Fragment d'un Mystère inédit.* (ed. by Jubinal, Paris, 1834), p. 4. The date of the play is 1050-1150. "D'abord

Fig. 3.—Heaven as a Gallery. By the Master E. S. *To face p.* 316.

oil cannot injure her. The same *dolium* inverted will serve for the pinnacle of the Temple, the Mount of Olives, or the rostrum from which the *Conclusor* may recite the epilogue of the drama.[1] In the Frankfurt play, however, the Mount of Olives was represented by "virides arbores in modum orti"—an almost isolated attempt at scenery.[2] The thunder and earthquake which followed the crucifixion were represented by the firing of a gun.[3] The doors of hell must have been of a fairly substantial character—after the type of their original, the church door—for we hear of heavy bolts being drawn across them as Christ appeared. In some cases a devil was represented as placing his long nose in the bolt-hasps, only to have it promptly torn off as the triumphant Christ broke open the gates.[4] The crucifixion was somehow managed with the live actor, and, as a rule, the live Judas hanged himself,[5] although we hear in the Frankfurt play of an "imago facta ad instar Judas"

[1] See **L**, p. 291. In the *Alsfelder Spiel* we read: "Sathanas ducit eum ad doleum quod positum est in medio ludi representans pinnaculum templi" (**C**, p. 36). In the *Frankfurter Spiel* we find the stage-directions: "Deinde Sathanas ducat Jhesum super dolium quod positum sit in medio ludi, representans pinnaculum templi"; and again: "Item Sathanas ducat Jhesum ad alium locum ludi super dolium representans montem excelsum" (**S**, p. 139). For the inverted tub of the *Conclusor* see **B**, vol. ii. p. 104.

[2] **S**, p. 146. [3] **K**, pp. 61, 173; **B**, vol. ii. pp. 324, 339.

[4] **F**, p. 284; **C**, p. 225 (where Lucifer first looks out *per fenestram*), etc. On the long-nosed devil Rapax see **H**, vol. ii. p. 70; and compare with Mathesius' *Sermons*, quoted in Flögel, *Geschichte der Grotesk-Komischen*, p. 239. He frequently appears in mediæval art. The barring of the gates of hell is an incident in the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*.

[5] Real death was occasionally the result of these mock death-arrangements of the stage: "C'est ainsi que la chronique de Metz rapporte que le curé de Saint-Victor de cette ville faillit périr en croix, dans un mystère de la Passion, où il représentait Jésus-Christ, et que l'acteur qui représentait Judas s'étrangla presque en se pendant" (Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. i. p. 42). A like incident is referred to in Platter's *Autobiographie* (ed. Fechter), p. 123. At Zuckmantel (see **Y**, p. 11) the Christ wore a tight-fitting, flesh-coloured linen garment, strong enough to support him on the cross, when the nails were driven through it.

being hanged. The three crosses are frequently, and stocks for the two thieves[1] occasionally, mentioned; the scourging pillar and a table for the banquets are also among the usual stage-accessories.

Of the heavenly bodies sun and moon are referred to, but we are not told how they set at the crucifixion.[2] The 'Star in the East,' however,—one of the most interesting of mediæval religious symbols—is a very important stage-accessory. The *stella aurea* always precedes the Magi; sometimes it is carried by one of their servants, sometimes by an angel, sometimes by Herod's chief captain, while not infrequently there is a special actor termed the *Stellafer* or *Sternträger*.[3] The star itself may be either a great painted mass of red and gold, and even blue, or it may be embroidered on a banner. In the pictures of the Hungarian peasant Christmas-plays given by Flögel (*loc. cit.*) the star is of the former kind, and the *Stellafer*, dressed in a blue blouse and top boots, is able to flash the star about by means of a gigantic pair of lazy-tongs. The mediæval importance of the Star in the East arose from its association with the woman who, in the Book of Revelations (chap. xii.), is mentioned as having the moon under her feet. The Catholic Church has always interpreted this

[1] **B**, vol. ii. pp. 156, 184. [2] **C**, p. 199; **B**, vol. ii. p. 324.

[3] See **I**, p. 18. A wood-cut of the *Fasciculus Temporum* (Cöln, 1480) also represents the star as carried by a servant of the Three Kings. It is an angel in **K**, p. 23. The Limoges ritual (Martene, *loc. cit.* Liber iv. cap. 14. § 12) has a *stellam pendentem in filo*. In Silesia the lads at Christmas still go about in gold-paper crowns, with a great star carried on a pole (**Q**, p. 127), and the same custom exists in Upper Bavaria, *e.g.* Oberammergau (see **R**, pp. 51, 59, 109). The English clergy at the Council of Constance in 1417 gave a Nativity-play with a great gold star suspended from a fine iron wire. Interesting information as to the costumes and accessories of eighteenth-century Magi-plays will be found in Flögel: *Geschichte der Grotesk-Komischen*, p. 246.

passage as referring to the Virgin Mary, and mediæval art constantly represented the Mother of God as seated upon a crescent with a crown of twelve stars.[1] Very early also in the history of the Latin Church the term *stella maris*, star of the sea, was applied to the Virgin Mary; and mediæval writers invariably derive the name Maria from *maris stella*.[2] At what time these three conceptions—the Star of the East, the Woman standing on the Crescent, and the *stella maris*—became associated and identified I am unable to say definitely; but to the writers, and presumably to the spectators, of the great passion-plays they were interchangeable symbols. The Magi in the *Egerer Spiel*[3] describe the star they

[1] For a graphic representation we may refer to the title-page to Dürer's *Marienbilder*. In a fifteenth-century Metz MS. *Horae*, once in my hands, one miniature represented the Virgin, with the infant Saviour in her arms, standing on a crescent and surrounded by a glory. This is the representation on the collar of the papal robes. The crescent with a star—the *stella maris*—occurs on the banner carried by one of the attendants in Martin Schöngauer's *Adoration of the Magi*. *La Résurrection de notre Seigneur* (Jubinal, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 352) discusses at some length, in the dialogue of the play itself, the significance of the *estoille de mer*. The splendid description of the woman on the crescent seen by Benvenuto Cellini in his well-known vision will occur to readers of his autobiography.

[2] The derivation occurs in the writings of Jerome and Isidore (see Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler*, pp. 375, 435). Compare the *Arnsteiner Marienleich*, *Melker Marienlied*, and several sequences in the *Denkmäler*, pp. 109-125. Also *Hroswitha*, ed. Barak, pp. 16, 17; *Herrad von Landsberg*, ed. Engelhardt, p. 124; further Fortunatus's hymn, *Ave stella maris*, as well as innumerable Latin hymns to the Virgin; see also W. Grimm, *Konrad von Würzburgs Goldene Schmiede*, p. 44, etc.

[3] See **F**, pp. 63, 65, 69. Compare this especially with the mediæval folk-book of the Three Kings (Simrock, *Volksbücher*, Bd. iv. p. 442). In the *Devil's Parliament* we find that the Emperor in Rome saw three suns in one, and in their midst a maid bearing a child. This vision immediately preceded Christ's birth (*Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, ed. Furnival, p. 45). A like notion occurs in a very popular mediæval book, *Der Anfang der newen ee vnd das passional von ihesu vnd marie leben* (Sorg, Augsburg, 1476; reprinted in Lübeck, 1478, as *de nye Ee vnd dat passional von Jhesus vnd Marien lewende*, the woodcuts being chiefly copies of Sorg's). We have a paragraph entitled, "Here Sibylla and Octavianus see the Child and the Maid in the Sun," the woodcut shows the Sibyl and Emperor looking at a half-figure of the Virgin and Child on

have seen as containing within it the figure of the Virgin Mother with the child on her bosom. In the *Freiburger Spiel* the guild of tailors not only acted the Three Kings, but also 'Our Lady in the Sun'—the star-crowned woman standing on the crescent of the Apocalypse.[1] The tableau was probably drawn on a car, as the earlier version of this play appears to have been processional. The Star in the East thus gave an opportunity for much symbolic spectacle,—a phase of the important adoration of the Virgin to which we shall later return.

Another useful stage-accessory was an ass,[2] which could be used for the Flight into Egypt, the Triumphal Entry, and several of the Old Testament prefigurations. The ass also appears with a calf and a basket of doves as part of the lumber Christ clears out of the Temple. Sometimes there is a direction at the beginning of a play referring to all the stage-accessories and costumes that will be required. Thus in a *Ludus trium Magorum*

the crescent. In the legend of the Three Kings which accompanies this work, and which is only an abridged version of John of Hildesheim's *Liber de gestis trium regum* (Cöln, Guldenschaff, 1477), we have a section entitled, "Of the star, in what shape and form it appeared on the hill Vaus," wherein the star is merely described 'as clear and bright as the sun at noon.' On the other hand, in the translation of John of Hildesheim's work, published by Johann Priess at Strasburg soon after 1480, there is a wood-cut of the star on the hill Vaus, which shows the star containing the Christ-child. The hill is frequently termed *Mons Victorialis*. The *Chester Plays* (p. 115) introduce the Sibyl and Octavianus looking at the star containing maid and child. Stars formerly used in the Magi-plays are preserved in the church at Otterfing in Upper Bavaria; there is in each a Christ-child under glass in the centre (**R**, p. 93). In the *Oberufer Spiel* we read: "Ein ungewönlich Gestirn ist erstanden, Darin eine Jungfrau ein Kind tut tragn" (**R**, p. 96 footnote).

[1] See **K**, p. 24.

[2] See **B**, ii. pp. 156, 184, 229. An ass was the principal stage-furniture of a travelling passion-play company I saw in the Black Forest in 1879. It was not only useful on the stage, but helped to transport the company. In this case the Virgin Mary in costume took the money at the door.

we are told that for this play four crowns will be required for Herod and the three Magi, with ornaments for their robes; there must also be cups for the feast, and a sceptre and royal robe for Herod. Mary, Joseph, and the angels may be provided with such dresses as seem fitting to the 'manager'; there is to be a gold-bedecked star, and lastly, the manager is to provide a meal and other necessaries, if he wishes to meet with general approval.[1]

The above remarks will show that the stage-accessories, although generally of a primitive description, varied very much with the play, the locality, and the period. Sometimes, indeed, the expenses were sufficiently great to warrant either a collection or a fee from the spectators. Thus the *Precursor* in the Vienna Easter-play states that the play about to be acted is both cheerful and cheap.[2] On the other hand, in 1557 the journeymen barbers of Freiburg refused any longer to act "St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins on the Ship"—one of the sections of the great processional play of that city—owing to its great cost.[3]

Costume.—There are but few printed records which cast much light on the costumes used in the German religious drama. In 1821 a chest was found in the parish church of Friedberg containing stage-directions and costumes for the passion-play of that place. I have

[1] See I, note p. 30. We find a demand for money in the Trial of Joseph and Mary which forms one of the *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 131. Nor is this to be wondered at, for we find in the expenses for 1490 wine, ale, bread, beef, geese, etc., or the refreshment of the actors at both rehearsals and performance.

[2] L, vol. ii. p. 298; and B, vol. ii. p. 163. [3] K, p. 201.

not been able to discover any published account of these dresses, and they have by this time probably perished. The library at Luzern also contains much information, but this is not yet accessible in print. Probably the best idea of the passion-play costume is to be obtained from a study of mediæval pictures and woodcuts of the Passion,—the then current notion being that all the world in Christ's day (and before it) dressed like mediæval men and women. I may note a few particulars, which have been gleaned from a variety of sources, as an addition to the dress rubrics already cited when we were considering the early rituals.

In the Easter ritual[1] Christ appears *dalmaticatus candida dalmatica, candida infula infulatus, phylacteria pretiosa in capite, crucem cum labaro in dextra, textum auro paratorium in sinistra habens.* He would thus have a very priestly aspect. Rorbach tells us that at Frankfurt, in 1498, the parson of Obern-Eschersheim, who had previously played God the Father, put on a grey coat and a diadem and began, as Christ, the passion-play with the choice of the disciples. Christ was represented with golden

[1] **G**, p. 81; see also Christ's costume in the *Tours Mystery* (**G**, p. 102). God the Father in pontifical robes occurs as miniature xxiii. of the Metz *Horae*, already referred to (footnote, p. 326). It is a common form of representation with Albrecht Dürer; God appears as pope in a coronation of the Virgin by a Cologne artist in the Munich Pinakothek (No. 625). He is represented as an emperor in the *Schatzbehalter* (Cuts 2 and 23). In the famous Heller altarpiece of Albrecht Dürer, representing the *Mariä Himmelfahrt*, Christ with a papal crown and God the Father with an imperial crown place an imperial crown upon the Virgin. In Dürer's *Allerheiligenbild* at Vienna God the Father and the emperor down below have the same crowns. As to God as pope and emperor see Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne*, pp. 205 *et seq.*; his localisation of the two modes of representation is, however, incorrect.

hair, and in some few cases with a red beard,[1] which is, however, usually the attribute of Judas.[2] God the Father appeared either as an emperor, or with the triple crown of the pope and priestly robes. The disciples wore the usual mediæval costume, Peter having a bald pate, and probably a limp.[3] The devils, from Lucifer and Satan down to Happa and Puck, we may reasonably suppose to have been dressed according to the mediæval demon conception, *i.e.* with all the distortions and contortions of Stephan Lochner's perhaps unequalled *Day of Judgment* in the Cologne Gallery (see the frontispiece to this volume), the block-book *Ars Moriendi*, or Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of the descent into hell.[4] The patriarchs and prophets, when rescued from the lower regions, are to be clothed in white shirts 'as spirits,' or else go naked, which is certainly to be the condition of our first parents and of the massacred innocents ("vil kleiner kinder gantz

[1] The old English mysteries gave both God the Father and God the Son golden hair. For a red beard see **B**, ii. p. 291, and Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne*, p. 577. The authority for Christ's hair, etc., is probably the apocryphal *Epistola Lentuli ad Caesarem*. John of Damascus gives a different description; Christ had a black beard, and resembled his mother (*Opera*, vol. i. p. 630). According to the Tyrolese *Ludus de ascensione domini* (ed. Pichler, p. 9), he was in person and face like James the Greater. The *Plenarium*, published in 1473, probably by Zainer in Augsburg, gives a fine full-length cut of Christ on its first pages, and tells us that this exactly represents the hair, beard, and clothes of Christ, as he walked with bare feet on earth; further, his head was longer than that of any other human being. For some discussion of the mediæval Christ-portraits see K. Pearson, *Die Fronica, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christbildes im Mittelalter*, Strasburg, 1886.

[2] For Judas' hair see **F**, p. 108. The notion that the red-haired man is necessarily wicked is strongly insisted on in the Middle Ages. Thus in the *Proverbs of Alfred* (*Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S.), l. 702, "He is cocker, þef and horeling, scolde, of wreckedome he is king."

[3] **K**, p. 117, *vide infra*.

[4] **H**, vol. ii. p. 17. Lucifer and his comrades put on *Teufelskleider* before their fight with the angels.

nackent").[1] We may note that the artists of the Middle Ages seem to have been somewhat puzzled to know how to represent spirits and souls. Yet such a representation was very necessary for the passion-plays, where not only many souls had to be fetched away by angel or devil as the pointed moral of a good or bad life, but the Day of Judgment itself had to be put plastically before the audience. When the souls had to walk and talk they were represented by persons dressed in white shirts,[2] but when this was not necessary a more symbolic method was adopted. A common device was a suitable bird let fly at the right moment; a white dove would symbolise the soul of Christ,[3] and a raven that of Judas.[4] Still another very customary method was to take a little naked figure away from the dying man; this figure was generally held by a thread from his mouth, by which organ the soul was always supposed to leave the body. It was thus that the souls of the two thieves were represented in the Donaueschingen play,[5] and it found great favour with the artists,[6] for example, in the last cut of the

[1] **B**, vol. ii. p. 342; **H**, vol. ii. p. 72; and compare the *Schatzbehalter*, Cut 79. Adam and Eve were naked in the *Chester Plays* (p. 25) and in the *Coventry Mysteries* (p. 27). The stage-directions include *stabunt nudi* and the covering *genitalia sua cum foliis*. Marriott cites the following from *The Travailes of the three English Brothers*, published in 1607:—

Sir Anthony Shirley. And what new plays have you?

Kempe. Many idle toyes, but the old play that Adam and Eve acted in bare action vnder the figge tree drawes most of the gentlemen.

[2] The soul in the "Morality of Wisdom who is Christ" (*Digby Plays*, p. 140) is dressed "as a mayde in a whight cloth of gold, gyntely purfyled with menyver, a mantyll of blak, therupon a cheveler lyke to wysdam, with a riche chapetelet lasyed behynde, hangying down with ii knottes of gold and syde tasselys."

[3] **D**, p. 68; and **F**, p. 253.

[4] **B**, vol. ii. p. 284. The souls of criminals appear as crows in *Die beiden Wanderer* (Grimm, *Kindermärchen*, No. 107).

[5] **B**, vol. ii. p. 324.

[6] Compare also, in the Luther-Cranach *Abbildung des Bapstums*, the devils removing the souls of pope and cardinals who hang on the gallows; or again the

famous *Ars Moriendi* block-book, where the angel carries off the soul of the dying man. The reader who will consider the mediæval notions of hell and the soul as illustrated in the passion-play, will recognise how much the mediæval spirit added to primitive Christianity, and how much of that addition has remained current in folk-belief even to the present day.

To the costumes already given we may add that of Mary Magdalen—who, while *in gaudio*, is gaily bedecked with trinkets, and appears *superbo habitu*—and of John the Baptist, who is very meanly clad in a skin. Indeed, so meanly is John clad that the devil Tuteville tries to keep him in hell, considering that Christ could not possibly want to rescue such a miserably clad person.[1] This is all the material I have been able to find in the earlier plays bearing on costume. A good many details of stage and wardrobe expenses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are given by Hartmann (**T**, pp. 404, 426, etc.) The painting and dyeing of *Teufelskleider* seems to have been a relatively large item. A few costumes from more recent peasant plays —doubtless traditional in their naïveté—may interest the reader. Mary appears in an old-fashioned blue

picture at Prag by Holbein the Elder (Woltmann, *Holbein*, p. 82). In the famous *Triumph of Death*, in the Camposanto at Pisa, angels and devils are fighting for souls represented by little children. Angels and devils remove little naked figures from the mouths of the dying in the curious drawings of the Heidelberg MS. (No. 438) (see Geffcken, *Bildercatechismus*, Appendix, col. 15). St. Michael and the Devil fighting for a like soul issuing from the mouth of a corpse occurs in a French *Horae* known to me. Upon the buttress of the west porch of Rheims Cathedral the souls of the martyrs appear as naked and sexless little children. The soul of St. Martin on a window at Chartres, and that of St. Calminius on one at Mauzac, are represented by naked infants. The souls of the blessed are thus represented in the hands of God (see Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne*, pp. 124, 134, 210, 243).

[1] **C**, p. 55; **J**, p. 98; **I**, p. 117; **B**, vol. ii. p. 56; and compare **S**, p. 142.

dress, with white apron, cap, and long veil. She carries a wooden or wax doll. The shepherds wear green knee-breeches, with rose ribbons, green braces, and white stockings, and carry a crook adorned with ribbons.[1] A prophet is smartly clad in silk-hat, spectacles, frockcoat, and white stockings reaching to the knee. He carries a telescope in his hand, apparently as a symbol of the range of his vision,[2] etc.

Much more detailed information as to costume may be found in the English plays. The character of the wardrobe may be indicated by a few extracts. In the *Coventry Mysteries* (p. 224) we find Annas dressed as a 'bischop' of the old law in a scarlet gown, and over that a blue tabberd furred with white, and a mitre on his head 'after the old law.' Two doctors stand beside him with furred hoods, and one before him with his staff of state, and each of them on their heads a furred cap with a great knob on the crown, and "one standing before him as a Saracen, the which shall be his messenger." From the accounts of the Guild of Smiths at Coventry published in part by Marriott, I extract the following items: Cross with a rope to draw it up; gilding the pillar and cross; two pair of gallows; four scourges; standard of red buckram; four jackets of black buckram with nails and dice upon them for tormentors; God's coat of white leather, six skins; a staff for the demon; crest of iron and falchion for Herod; cheverels (wigs) for God, Jesus, and Peter, the latter two gilt; a girdle for God; a sudere or sweat-cloth for the Veronica incident. In the Chester plays

[1] Q, pp. 113, 125. [2] R, p. 116.

we find that the Holy Ghost was a source of considerable expense. Thus we have :—

Itm payd to the sprytt of god . . . . 14d.
„ for the spret of god's cote . . . 2s.
„ for the making of the same cote . 8d.
„ for ii yardes and halfe of bockram to make the spyrit's cote . . . 2s. 1d.

VI.—*Characterisation in the Passion-Plays*

Having endeavoured to present the reader with a general view of the stage and its accessories, I have next to indicate how character was dealt with in the mediæval drama. A student of the passion-plays may at first feel inclined to deny all characterisation in the rôles, and in a certain sense he will be right. Those who seek for character as we paint it to-day—the mixed motives, the opposing emotions, the scarce distinguishable shades of good and evil impulse to be found even in the most commonplace mortals—will discover no trace of it in the passion-play. There is not the feeblest germ of a Hamlet nor the suggestion of a Faust. The knowledge that there is no wide gulf fixed between good and evil, between strength and weakness, between morality and immorality, could only be attained by an age of critical introspection, which examined motives rather than deeds ; it had not dawned on the mind of mediæval man. His morality was like his religion, one of works and formal observance.[1] Thus, as in the modern melodrama,

[1] These terms are used in no bad sense ; much of the morality which is of most social value must always be of this kind, only alternately we find the deed and the motive, the law and the spirit, the Pharisee and the Nazarene, under or overrated.

we can assert of a passion-play character what the nursery rhyme tells us of the child, that—

> When it was good, it was very, very good,
> And when it was bad, it was horrid.

To distinguish between good and evil was to the man of the Middle Ages no hard task. All deeds and all beliefs were already classified in a rigid code, and obedience or disobedience to this code constituted goodness or badness. This point must always be borne in mind when we consider the readiness with which mediæval man condemned his opponents to eternal damnation.[1] He felt as certain in his judgment of what was good and evil as he considered the great Judge would be at the time of the catastrophe with which he concluded the great world-drama. He left no place for individual thought or individual conduct; each man must think and act as his fellows, and for a time society undoubtedly prospered under this strict socialism. With such a view of life no growth of character seems possible. Christ and the Virgin are so very good and pure, Satan, Judas, and Pilate so very wicked, that all finer shades of characterisation disappear, and, from the standpoint of the higher drama of to-day, we have parts but no characters.

There is another distinction also between the modern and the mediæval dramas to which we have already drawn attention, namely, the actor of to-day renders his

[1] Thus in the *Alsfelder Spiel* (C, p. 36) Satan comes to tempt Christ in the garb of a Lollard. In the Townley Mystery, *Extractio Animarum*, the devil *Tutivillus* says he is now 'Master Lollar.' The same devil occurs in more than one German play, and there is here again evidence of that cosmopolitan element in the plays to which I have before referred.

character by a more or less subtle combination of gesture, speech, and motion; the playwright of the Middle Ages entrusted little but speech to his actors. He endeavoured by means of symbolism to arouse the appropriate feelings in his audience. To appreciate the extent to which symbolism was a factor of both social and religious life in the Middle Ages is one of the hardest tasks to the modern mind—harder, perhaps, to the cultured than to the uncultured. Yet a comparative study of civilisation shows a stage in which symbolism is widely current in the majority of highly developed religions. To the student of Buddhism nothing is more repellent at the outset of his studies than the lists of truths, paths, fetters, sins, and suchlike; it is only as he strives to penetrate beneath the numerical form that he reaches the ideas symbolised, and finds each catalogue pregnant with meaning. Precisely the same phase of symbolism meets us in our study of mediævalism.[1] The Hours, the Stations, the Seven Words on the Cross, the Ghostly and Bodily Works of Mercy, the Deadly Sins, these and many other categories, which hardly reach the heart of the modern reader, were yet symbols very close in both life and death to the heart of mediæval man. So close, indeed, that they could not be omitted from the great Christian drama. It did not weary him to hear the whole catalogue of the Acts of Mercy recited during the

[1] I have collected upwards of twenty such numerical lists from fifteenth-century confessional books. They range from the *Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy* to the *Four Sins which cry out to Heaven for Vengeance*. A very fair appreciation of this spirit of enumeration may be obtained from the *Penitentionarius de Confessione* (Hain, 13156-13166), or indeed from Wyclif's sermons. The special folk-need which gave rise to this common feature of mediæval Buddhism and mediæval Christianity is of singular interest.

stage representation of the Day of Judgment;[1] nor did he find any anachronism in the Virgin Mother proceeding to the Stations.[2] These symbols from his childhood onwards were deeply significant to the Christian of the Middle Ages; and unless we grasp something of his feeling towards them, we shall miss much of the power of the religious drama, just as we shall fail to appreciate many shades of mediæval thought even in the sermons of Wyclif and Tauler.

But to this ecclesiastical symbolism, designed to arouse by association certain deep religious feelings, we find added in the passion-plays a peculiar folk-symbolism intended to work upon other emotions, and often doing it in a manner which grossly offends the less robust taste of modern times. Both types of symbolism exercised a noteworthy influence over pictorial art. One action by which the mediæval playwright succeeded in expressing symbolically an almost endless variety of moods was the dance. The dance could be rendered symbolical of holy or of fiendish joy, of insult, of horror, or of wantonness. Foremost among such symbolic dances we may notice the Dance of Angels and the Dance of Devils—both in a certain sense religious dances. Of such corybantic symbols the faith that came from

[1] The recital of the Seven Acts of Mercy by Christ on the Day of Judgment is traditional so far as the religious drama is concerned. Besides the German plays, I may refer to *Townley Mysteries*, pp. 316-318. See also the *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., p. 81; and the *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, p. 277. In the *Coventry Mysteries* (p. 82) the Virgin, when three years old, repeats in the Temple the *Fifteen Psalms*—a miraculous repetition of another mediæval category, which naturally astonishes the *Episcopus*.

[2] See **A**, pp. 45 *et seq.*, p. 186. Erasmus satirises a like anachronism by a discussion between the monks as to which book of Hours the Virgin used (see also **B**, vol. ii. p. 285; **H**, p. 110).

Judea knew nothing, but they were striking features of the folk-festivals of the old Germanic worship. Their appearance in the passion-plays is but another sign of the victory of the Western folk-spirit over the invading but alien religion of the East. As we have seen in the previous essay, at an early stage of development the sex-festival is associated with the religious festival, and both with the dance. A robust primitive people finds its supreme bliss in rhythmic motion. For such heaven is but a great dancing-green, and all the gods are nimble of foot. Long after Christianity had established itself in Germany, the old heathen religious dances continued; even after the folk had forgotten the very names of its ancient gods it danced on high festivals round the cock, the horse's head, or the sacred tree.[1] On the one hand we have the people, who regarded the dance as a symbol of the highest religious ecstasy; on the other hand we have the missionaries and monks, who, branding it as devilish, allowed their fancy to master their curiosity; so that the old corybantic rites which occasionally took place at midnight in sequestered spots appeared to mediæval superstition as the wildest of bacchanals, in which only devils, hobgoblins, and hags took any part. Thus when the folk-spirit made the religious drama its own we need not be surprised to find the dance on the

[1] See Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, under heading *Tanz*; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie, Hexenfahrt*, pp. 877 *et seq.* Herodias and her daughter—types of the sinful dancer—are in the plays (*e.g.* **C**, p. 34) carried off to hell by a wild chorus of devils. They it is who in mediæval superstition lead the midnight revels of devil and witch; see the *Malleus maleficarum*, ed. 1494, fol. l. Interesting confessions bearing on the actual character of witch dances will be found in *Birlinger, Aus Schwaben*, 1874, Bd. i. pp. 131 *et seq.*; and in Nichues, *Zur Geschichte der Hexenprocesse in Münster*.

one hand symbolising the highest bliss of heaven, and on the other the fiendish delight of hell. Heaven as a dancing-hall and hell with the characteristics of a midnight witch-gathering find a common origin in the old choral religious festival to which I have referred in earlier essays.[1]

In a play of the Day of Judgment published by Mone,[2] we have a highly sensuous description of heaven as a place of laughing, kissing, song, and music. In a fourteenth-century *Himmelfahrt Mariä*, Christ, after addressing the Virgin in the language of the Song of Songs, bids all the angels stand up and dance with her. The archangel Michael offers his hand to the Mother of God, and leads off down the heavenly green:[3] *et sic omnes chorizant, angeli cantant ad laudem dei.*

In a *Weihnachtslied* from Upper Bavaria, which is probably a fragment of an old Three Kings play, we have again reference to this Dance of Angels, for we read:[4]—

> D'Engai müassent nárisch sei`:
> Sie toant so lustig umatanzen.

Of greater interest for the history of culture than the heavenly dancing is the hellish dancing. I have already noted that the devils dance round Lucifer's tub in hell. But the characteristic Dance of Devils is that which leads to earth and back again in wild procession with the souls of men. It is thus that the devils carry off the foolish virgins in the *Ludus de decem Virginibus.*[5] We must thus imagine them in the plays of the Day of

[1] See Essays IX. and XI. [2] **B**, vol. i. p. 287. [3] **A**, p. 87.
[4] **B**, No. 55, p. 75. [5] Bechstein, *Wartburg Bibliothek*, Bd. i. p. 25.

Judgment, decked in all the horrible forms of mediæval fancy, dancing, singing, and dragging by the chain passed round it the crowd of the damned back to hell.[1] In the mediæval believer there must have been an intensity of hysterical emotion raised by this Dance of Devils, which it was almost imperative to relieve by some comic by-play. Still more effective than the damned in mass must have been the dance in which each devil brought an individual soul, and narrated the sin which condemned it to hell.[2] In many plays we have a long procession of such souls. The robber, the baker, the false coiner, the rake, the tanner, the lawyer, the old woman with her evil tongue, follow each other in rapid succession; such soul-lists cast much light on the state of popular feeling in the Middle Ages. In one case Satan brings a priest who has been thinking of temporal matters while reading mass, but this "regular old-run-round-the-altar," as Satan terms him, makes hell too hot for Lucifer, and he accordingly is allowed to escape.[3]

[1] Compare Meister Stephan's *Last Judgment* (Cologne Gallery, No. 121; reproduced in the frontispiece); a tympanum on the Nürnberg *Sebaldskirche*, and another over the south-east porch of the Minster at Ulm, with **B**, vol. i. pp. 274, 280, 295; **I**, No. iv. pp. 98, 306; **H**, vol. i. p. 143; and Piderit, *loc. cit.* line 763 ("das se kumen an vns seile"). We may further note the woodcuts in Dürer's *Small Passion* (last cut), and in the Heidelberg block-book reproduced by Geffcken, *Bildercatechismus, Beilage*, col. 13. Besides Stephan Lochner, the *Ars Moriendi*, Dürer, etc., we may draw attention to Martin Schöngauer's engraving of the *Temptation of St. Antony*, and Gerhard David's *Battle of St. Michael with Hell*, as capital representations of what the passion-play devils were like.

[2] See **B**, vol. ii. p. 81 and footnote. The *novus chorus* therein referred to stands, I hold, for the new forms of dancing introduced about 1400, in which the partners instead of dancing in figures began to clasp each other by the arms or even the waist. This much scandalised both town-councils and ecclesiastics, as will be seen from an examination of the Frankfurt and Nurnberg Police Regulations or a study of mediæval sermons. See further **I**, p. 99, and **H**, vol. ii. pp. 37, 281, **U**, pp. 85 *et seq.* In Krüger's play the Dance of Devils is accompanied by witches.

[3] See **B**, vol. ii. pp. 74, 82, 96, etc.

The only other souls which Lucifer will not receive into hell are those of the strolling scholars, and this because he fears they might corrupt the morals of his mother. The recurrence of such strolling-scholar incidents in the passion-plays is fairly strong evidence of those scholars' handiwork in their construction.[1]

One of the most interesting lists of souls is that which occurs in a fourteenth-century Resurrection Play, wherein Lucifer sends out Satan to fetch in succession the Pope, the Cardinal, the Patriarch, the Legate, the Emperor, the King, the Prince, the Count, the Knight, the Squire, the Justice, the Counsellor, the Priest, the Monk, the Innkeeper,[2] the Miller, the Shipman, the Fiddler, with many other traders and handicraftsmen.[3] The resemblance to the later Dance of Death lists is undeniable, and the relation becomes all the more significant when we remember that in the mediæval plays Death was placed with the devils in hell or appears as an associate of Lucifer on earth.[4]

[1] See **I**, pp. 102, 103; **F**, p. 288. For the brilliant immorality of these scholars see, besides the references in the footnote on p. 304, **S**, pp. 203-208.

[2] The innkeeper or 'taverner,' male or female, met with small mercy at the hands of the mediæval playwright. Besides the unfriendly innkeepers of Bethlehem, and of the "soul-lists," we find in the *Chester Plays* (p. 81) at the harrowing of hell a *mulier* or 'taverner' left behind, who, when on earth, had mixed wines and adulterated beer. She remains to burn

> With all mashers, minglers of wyne in the nighte.

This may be taken as a derivation—at least *ben trovato*—of a modern word.

[3] See **A**, p. 118. In the *Towneley Mysteries*, pp. 312, 314, will be found a long and interesting list of persons whom the devils mean to have in hell. Samples of the highest ecclesiastics are always to be found in hell, *e.g. Chester Plays*, p. 183; Herrad von Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum*, 1180; Meister Stephan's *Last Judgment*, *circa* 1450 (see the frontispiece), and the cuts of Quentel's *Kölner Bibel*, 1480.

[4] Cf. **H**, vol. ii. pp. 68 *et seq.*; **C**, pp. 67, 68, with direct reference to the Dance of Death; **K**, p. 90; **B**, vol. ii. p. 419; **T**, p. 400. The reader may also compare Dürer's *Ritter, Tod und Teufel*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, xvii. 1.

In Schedel's *Buch der Croniken*, 1493, p. 261, a grimly powerful dance of three deaths with their musician is brought into relation with the Day of Judgment. Thus we have another link connecting the Dance of Devils with the Dance of Death. It seems probable that the pictorial Dances of Death took their origin in the spectacular Dance of Devils which occurred in the hell scenes of the religious dramas.[1] Nor does it appear far-fetched to hold that the wood-cutters took their conception of the *Knaveries*—sets of pictures representing the scamps and sinners of the world—from the same source. Indeed the plays here, as elsewhere, presented the richest material ready to the artist's hand.

Other symbolic dances to which we may briefly refer are those of the *Ritter* appointed to guard the sepulchre, and of Mary Magdalen *in gaudio*. The *Ritter*, or Knights, represent the Roman soldiers who receive instructions from Pilate to keep watch and ward

In the earliest Germanic times, Death was undoubtedly thought of as a woman (a Valkyrie like Homer's ὀλοὴ Κήρ): see p. 175. Perhaps the earliest known representation of Death is that in the *Leofric Missal* (Warren, p. 45), where he is drawn as a devil, not as a skeleton. Death appeared till quite recently among the *dramatis personae* of a travelling Obersteiern company. In their *Spiel vom guten Hirten* he dances off with a shepherdess, and thoroughly mediæval Dance of Death verses are put into the mouths of both. In this case also Death is associated with the Devil: see Q, pp. 329, 331, 355, 359.

[1] Woltmann (*Holbein*, chap. xi., *Todesbilder und Todtentänze*, p. 249) holds that the Dances of Death were first acted, and that, as in the case of the passion-incidents, the painter followed the actor. Wackernagel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, p. 396, places the Dances of Death under *Geistliche Spiele*. At the same time it must be noted that while the first 'soul-list' occurs in a play of which the manuscript dates from the second half of the fourteenth century, the *Klingenthaler Todtentanz* (see vol. i. Essay I.) dates from 1312. Cf. Massmann, *Die Baseler Todtentänze*, p. 36. The typical knaves in the block-book, *Die acht Schalkheiten*, from the middle of the fifteenth century, nearly all occur in the 'soul-lists' of the various plays. For the study of the question Pfister's edition of *Rechtstreit des Menschen mit dem Tode* (*circa* 1460) contains woodcuts of primary historical importance.

over the sepulchre.[1] They dance to the sepulchre, and then dance round it singing. The idea which the dancing is intended to convey appears to be that of contempt. In much the same manner, in a *Dispute between Mary and the Cross*, the Jews are represented as dancing round the Virgin by tens and twelves in order to mock her as she weeps at the foot of the cross.[2] Mary Magdalen expresses her wantonness by dancing; in the *Digby Mysteries* the dance with a dandy leads to her seduction; in the Alsfelder Play she heads a regular Devils' Dance, being assisted by Lucifer *cum aliis demonibus;* in another play, the *Ludus Mariae Magdalene in gaudio*, we have a very effective choral dance of the Magdalen and Procus, one of her lovers.[3] Of a similar character is the dance of a shepherdess with a hunter, and with devils in an Obersteiern play performed till a quite recent date.[4] The foolish virgins in the *Ludus de decem Virginibus* also express their folly by feasting and dancing as the following stage-directions indicate:[5] *Tunc omnes fatuae habeant convivium, deponant seque dormiant*, and *Tunc fatuae corizando et cum magno gaudio vadunt ad alium locum.*

It will be seen from the above—by no means exhaustive—list of instances how widely dancing was used in the passion-play as a symbol of character.[6]

[1] **L**, vol. ii. p. 302.

[2] *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., p. 142. In the *Coventry Mysteries* (p. 319) the Jews *dance* round the cross before it is raised.

[3] See **C**, p. 55; **I**, p. 112; and **B**, vol. i. p. 80. [4] See **Q**, p. 343.

[5] Bechstein, *Wartburg Bibliothek*, vol. i. p. 18.

[6] In a *Weihnachtsspiel* from the fifteenth century (ed. Piderit, 1869), Mary employs Joseph to rock the cradle. He gets a knave to help him *et sic servus et Joseph corisant per cunabulum cantando 'In dulci jubilo.'* There is afterwards

Another phase of symbolism in the mediæval drama has already been briefly referred to (p. 262), namely, the extravagant brutality displayed by the Jewish persecutors of Jesus. The character thus thrust on the whole Jewish nation was but slightly a result of religious feeling—it was more, perhaps, the outcome of racial antipathy—but, in the chief place, its origin must undoubtedly be sought, like that of the modern German *Judenhetze*, in economic conditions. The Jew of the Middle Ages was the successful middleman and the economically necessary but widely hated money-lender. He was known only to be feared by both townsman and peasant.[1] Thus to exaggerate the Jewish cruelty

a dance of the nursemaids employed by Joseph with Arnold and Gulrich the innkeepers. In the *Digby Mysteries* (ed. Furnival, p. 164) we find Will and Understanding getting up a dance with Indignation, Malice, Discord, etc., and Mind says this is the "develys daunce."

[1] Perhaps the best expression of the bitter unreasoning hatred of the mediæval German for the Jew will be found in Luther's *Von den Jüden und jren Lügen*, Wittemberg, 1543. Luther, after attributing to the Jews every evil quality and all possible vices, comes to the kernel of the matter when he touches the economic side. He writes:—

Ja wohl, sie halten uns Christen in unserm eigen Lande gefangen; sie lassen uns arbeiten im Nasenschweiss, Geld und Gut gewinnen, sitzen dieweil hinter dem Ofen, faulenzen, pompen und braten Birn, fressen, saufen, leben sanft und wohl von unserm erarbeiteten Gut; haben uns und unser Güter gefangen durch ihren verfluchten Wucher, spotten dazu und speien uns an, dass wir arbeiten, und sie faule Jünker lassen sein von dem Unserm und in dem Unserm; sind also unsere Herrn, wir ihre Knechte mit unserm eigen Gut, Schweiss und Arbeit, fluchen darnach unserm Herrn, und uns zu Lohn und zu Dank.

As remedy, Luther suggests to the princes—(i.) To set fire to their synagogues and schools, and cover with earth what will not burn; (ii.) to break into and destroy their houses; (iii.) to deprive them of prayer-books and Talmuds; (iv.) to prohibit their Rabbis teaching; (v.) the abolition of all safe-conduct for Jews upon the highways; (vi.) to forbid usury and deprive the Jews of all their money, gold and silver ornaments; (vii.) to put into the hands of strong young Jews the spade and of Jewesses the spinning-wheel, and let them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow. "But, *summa*, my lords and princes who have Jewish subjects, if you do not follow my counsel, take a better, that you and we may be freed of all the unsufferable, devilish burden of the Jews." Such is hardly even an average sample of Luther's abuse, yet it will suffice to illustrate the feeling manifested in the passion-plays under a different form.

to Jesus was a means of carrying away the sympathies of his audience which even the religious playwright did not despise. Historically, we have no reason for supposing that the masses in Jerusalem were singularly hostile to either the person or teaching of the carpenter's son. The opposition largely arose from the privileged classes, the priests, the educated, the wealthy members of the community; they were closely touched by his contempt for the study of the law and by his undoubtedly communistic teaching. To some extent the priests may have rewon the popular ear, but it is scarcely credible that the whole population were eager to scoff and torture the very man whom shortly before they had accompanied in a veritable triumph into the city. The scarlet robe and the crown of thorns were due, not to the Jews, but to the Roman soldiers; the scourging seems to have been inflicted to excite pity, while the wine mingled with myrrh was given as a soporific.[1] In the passion-plays, however, there is no brutality so great that it cannot be placed to the credit of the Jewish mob; the tortures of the gospel narrative are increased a hundredfold, in order not so much to excite pity for the victim as to fan the popular hatred of the Jewish race. Thus Barabbas is no sooner released from the 'stocks' than he hastens to insult Christ.[2] Malchus, showing no gratitude for the recovery of his ear, is foremost among the tormentors.[3] The Jews are represented as gathering round Jesus full of the most venomous hate, and as taking pleasure in the

[1] Compare Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, under Crucifixion, and Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, pp. 574, 578.

[2] B, vol. ii. pp. 297, 298.

[3] B, vol. ii. pp. 298, 299; Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. p. 190, etc.

Christ, and are therefore worthy of the bitterest hatred.

With such character sketching in mass, as I have indicated above, it will be evident to the reader that all the finer individualisation which we now understand by the term must perforce be absent. It will not, however, be out of place to describe briefly the mediæval conceptions of the chief personages of the plays; for, with one exception, the notions then current of these personages differed widely from what are held to-day. This one exception is the central figure of the drama. While the Saxons of the ninth century had a Christ of their own, while the German mystics had a Christ of their own, while even pictorial art after Dürer had an individual Christ, it is still almost impossible to speak of a Christ of the passion-plays. All the individuality this Christ possessed was that of the not entirely consistent sketch presented by the gospel originals. We lack almost completely the warmth and unity which mediæval art gave to other personages of its drama. The Christ was possibly too sacred to be touched; he remained Eastern among the mediæval versions of his contemporaries, and his character was never thoroughly remodelled, like his features, on Western lines. The utterances of the passion-play Jesus are merely rhymed paraphrases of the words used by the Evangelists, and if they are occasionally effective, it arises from their original beauty and simplicity, which is not wholly incongruous even in its new Western setting.

It is quite otherwise with the character of the Virgin. Here we find much more originality, even after we have set on one side all that was drawn from

the apocryphal gospels.[1] The reader, who has examined the earlier studies in this volume, can hardly fail to have been impressed with the important part played among the primitive Germans by the mother-goddess. She is the goddess of fertility in man, in beast, and in the soil. She is the goddess of birth and of death. Her symbols are the spindle and the pitchfork, the ripe fruit and the protecting mantle. All the rich wealth of ideas which the primitive German associated with his ancient goddesses, he ultimately distributed over the Christian pantheon; many fell to the lot of local saints, others went to enrich his demonology, but not a few attached themselves to the person of the Virgin; and, under Western influence, she remains no longer the mere gospel outline of the mother of Christ, she attains all the richness of colour which is characteristic of a primitive mother-goddess. She becomes a centre of sex-emotion, and a symbol of archaic race feeling. She becomes a goddess of childbirth; with the ears of corn in her hand she stands as the deity of agriculture,[2] springs and meadows are consecrated to her, the flowers receive her name, and mankind flies for refuge under her mantle.[3] She is the goddess of life and death. Her gifts are the loaf which never comes to an end, or her own breast whence the divine wisdom may be

[1] Particularly the *Pseudo-Mathew* and *Protevangelion of James*.

[2] She fills all the barns with wheat; her three ears of corn sprout miraculously through the snow; her image can be found in every ear of wheat. She and her child are seen in the corn-field, or her image is found to have been deposited where the corn grows luxuriantly.

[3] On a misericord on the north side of Gayton Church, Northamptonshire, will be found a fifteenth-century carving of the Virgin with her mantle of grace round a number of nude figures representing souls. The protecting mantle will be found with many saints having in part heathen attributes, *e.g.* St. Ursula, St. Felicitas, St. Symphorosa, etc.

sucked.[1] The mediæval Virgin is, in short, the folk-vindication of its right to a goddess of its own ethnic type.

It is true that devotional and catechetical works drew a line—albeit occasionally somewhat faint—between the power of the Trinity and the power of the Virgin.[2] Yet for the great mass of the folk mediæval Christianity presented all the good and all the bad qualities of a polytheism. The Virgin was to the common folk, who were ignorant of scholastic subtleties, a divine being, and no amount of citation from doctrinal treatises can invalidate this conclusion. Nor should we, as students of comparative religion, seek forced reasons for denying it. Mariolatry has, on the whole, been a beneficial factor in European civilisation. It appealed to one of the noblest emotions in man; and it may well be doubted whether the women of to-day would have advanced so far as they have done, had not the worship of a goddess, prepotent in religious feeling, in art, and in the drama, come to help them, however little realised, in their struggle. When the folk heard the Virgin addressed as 'Queen of Heaven' and 'Mother of all Mercy,'[3] when they saw her in woodcut and

[1] In this respect the Virgin closely resembles the Indian *Maya*. She will be found represented as squeezing her breasts in several editions of the *Hortulus Animae*, or as offering them to Bernard of Clairvaux, Dominic, and other saints in pictures and prints.

[2] What can be said on this point—and it is not convincing—has been said by J. Janssen (*An meine Kritiker*, 1882, pp. 36-41).

[3] Cf. "Heuene quene and hell Emperesse" (*Legends of Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., pp. 147, 211, etc.) We find some very strong expressions used of the Virgin even as early as the *Χριστὸς πάσχων*, *e.g.* *πάγκλιτε, παγκαλλίστα κούρη παρθένε* (l. 598), *δ πότνα κούρη, σεμνοτάτα παρθένε* (l. 646), *Δέσποινα παγκοίρανε, μῆτερ τοῦ Λόγου* (l. 998). The *θεοτόκος* in the same play emphasises strongly her own purity, while in the epilogue of the author there is a strong element of Mariolatry (*e.g.* ll. 2572 *et seq.*, ll. 2597 *et seq.*) even to the *regina celorum* = *παντάνασσα*. See also Lehner, *Die Marienverehrung in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, 1881.

picture placed on a level with the Son, or crowned by the Trinity (*e.g.* Dürer's *Mariä Himmelfahrt*), they did not stay to inquire into fine dogmatic distinctions. The folk-literature teems with proof of this. What might possibly have been highly imaginative allegory in the Minnesingers' verbose adoration, became an expression of unqualified folk-belief in the mouths of the Mastersingers. Such divine attributes as eternal existence, creative power, dispensation of mercy, sovereignty over hell, and the divine title to the worship of animate and inanimate nature are all associated with the Virgin. A few extracts from a fourteenth-century *Meistersong* will help to emphasise her real position in folk-belief. "She is with them (*i.e.* the three persons of the Trinity) one Godhead bright." King David saw her "standing by God in golden robes and passing in and out of the Godhead, even before she was born as the Virgin. Who can be mispleased that she is so gloriously united with God?" Later the Virgin herself is introduced saying: "I helped him to make all things

[1] In Ostendorfer's woodcut the Virgin carries the keys of heaven and hell; she is appealed to as goddess of life and death (p. 175) to stop the plague, and receives votive offerings representing healed limbs. To her the peasants appeal with milk-pail, sickle, and hay-fork in hand, with offerings of fruit and fish. In this respect, as goddess of fertility, she receives votive presents of seed-basket, fodder-pannier, pitchfork, and scythe; while cooking-ladle and pot, spindle and firefork, show her relation to the old domestic goddesses of heathen times. In short, it is she who bears the halo, crown, and sceptre, and the child but completes the notion of the primitive mother-goddess. The reader will be able by the aid of a magnifying glass to recognise most of the things referred to in this description. In addition there would certainly be inside the building little wax images of babies, thank-offerings for fertility. In the unique copy of an unknown master's *Die Wunder von Maria Zell* in woodcuts from *circa* 1503, which is in the possession of Herr A. Coppenrath of Regensburg, we find the Virgin as goddess of fertility granting children to barren parents, helping women after childbirth, and curing all diseases, especially those of young children.

FIG. 5.—THE VIRGIN MARY AS LOCAL MOTHER-GODDESS.[1]

After Ostendorfer.

glorious with my wisdom, heaven, earth, and the beginnings of life." "Ere God created hill, dale, or sea, I was conceived of him." The Virgin can help all men and save them from eternal pain; she is the Noah's ark which carries them over hell-flood. She is one with the Trinity; for since God is indivisible, the whole triune deity has dwelt within her, and she has partaken of its nature.[1] It is she who breaks the bolts and bonds of hell, who binds the enemy with all his powers, who blunts the sharpness of death.[2] The Apostles are the stars in her crown, and all things that God has created —sun, moon, and stars—fall down and worship her.[3]

The notion of the Virgin we have thus endeavoured to give the reader is to a great extent embodied in the mediæval religious drama. In the Egerer play it is the Virgin who dispenses salvation to the three Magi.[4] In Gundelfinger's *Entombment* John comforts Mary by telling her that she will soon sit on the highest throne

[1] We even find the whole Trinity represented in the womb of the Virgin (Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne*, p. 558). Compare also the following expressions drawn from Latin Church hymns: *totius trinitatis nobile triclinium, cella trinitatis, mater tui patris, genetrix genitoris, patris mater, templum sanctae trinitatis* (see Mone, *Hymni*, Nos. 389, 472, 522, 10, 507). Again *Heil tabernacle of þe trynyte* occurs in an English *Ave Maria* (*Hymns to the Virgin*, E.E.T.S., l. 49, p. 5). In the *Coventry Mysteries* (p. 115) the whole Trinity enters Mary's bosom. Gabriel addresses her as 'Goddys dowtere,' 'Goddys modyr,' 'Goddys suatyr,' 'Goddys chawmere and his bowre,' 'Throne of the Trinyté,' 'Quen of hefne, Lady of erthe, and Empress of helle.' "All hefne and herthe wurchepp þou now," says St. Elisabeth to the Virgin (p. 128).

[2] We find similar ideas in many Latin hymns and sequences, *e.g. Ave praeclara maris stella* (v. 7): "Tuque furentem Leviathan, serpentem tortuosumque et vectem collidens, damnoso crimine mundum exemisti" (Daniel, *Thesaurus*, Sequence xxxvi.) In a Tyrolese *Ludus de ascensione Domini*, Christ formally hands over the kingdom of mercy to the Virgin (ed. Pichler, p. 11).

[3] See *Meisterlieder aus der Kolmarer Handschrift. Stutg. Lit. Verein*, Bd. lxviii. pp. 206 *et seq.* The song is probably due to an immediate follower of Frauenlob. Woodcuts with similar conceptions are innumerable.

[4] F, pp. 76, 78.

of heaven by the side of her Son.[1] Still stronger are the fourteenth-century plays in their language of devotion. The *Himmelfahrt Mariä* adopts the speech of the Song of Songs, and as God raises the Virgin from her grave their words are those of earthly lovers and not of spiritual beings. All the erotic expressions which the fourteenth-century female ascetic applied to her bridegroom Christ are used in this play by the Virgin to her Son.[2] Christ declares that his daughter and bride shall rule the kingdom of heaven, while the angels proclaim that, as empress, her will shall be eternally fulfilled on earth as it is in heaven.[3] Christ then gives her crown and sceptre, with full power over the Devil, whereon the Virgin informs all mortals that she has taken upon herself the attributes of godhead.[4] In another play of the Day of Judgment we find the Virgin seated at the right hand of Christ helping to judge the world, while her claim to save any sinner who has appealed to her before his death is at once admitted. Elsewhere she asserts for herself control of all the elements and of all living things.[5]

[1] **B**, vol. ii. p. 143.

[2] **A**, pp. 78-80. Compare *Arnsteiner Marienleich* (*circa* 1140), 'Godes drûden,' and the English hymn *Surga mea sponsa* in *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, E.E.T.S., p. 1. Also see the Latin hymn *Ave stella matutina*, line 19, *O sponsa dei electa* (Mone, No. 533), and compare such phrases as *summi sponsa creatoris, soror dei et filia, parens patris, nata prolis—amica, sponsa socia dei patris et filia —sponsa Christi—mater et filia*, etc. (*Ibid.* Nos. 355, 462, 547, 548, etc.), for the Virgin. The *St. Trudperter Hohenlied* distinguishes three *brûtlouſte* in the *Song of Songs*, one of which is the marriage of God to Maria. A twelfth-century *Gedicht von der Hochzeit* (ed. Karajan) describes this marriage at length.

[3] See **A**, pp. 61, 82.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 84-86. In **P** the Virgin has absolute control over the devils, and threatens to lay them in bonds (Part I. pp. 31-35). See also **M**, p. 112.

[5] **B**, vol. i. pp. 288, 298. In the sixteenth-century folk-book, *Thal Josaphat* (Simrock, Bd. xii.), which is almost identical with this play, these parts are carefully omitted! See also *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., *Doomsday*, p.

So much for the divine side of the Virgin's character, she appears as the all-powerful divine mother of the primitive German faith. The human side, as we have already remarked (p. 272), is stamped by the well-known lamentations with considerable beauty and tenderness.

A third important part which must now occupy our attention is that of the Devil. In the *Gospel of Nicodemus* we already find a considerable cohort of demons. Beelzebub is prince of hell and Satan his right-hand man; there are "legions of devils," and "impious Death and her cruel officers" are of the company.[1] At what time Lucifer began to usurp the place of Beelzebub, owing to the strange interpretation of Isaiah xiv. 12, is not very clear.[2] It must suffice to say that in the mediæval plays Lucifer is the chief devil, Satan his 'antient,' and Beelzebub, if he appears at all, only one of the numerous crowd.[3] The mediæval Lucifer was

165. In the fifteenth-century *Weihnachtsspiel*, published by Piderit, the Virgin, after identifying herself with the *stella maris* and stating that she is fed miraculously by the Holy Ghost, continues (l. 189):—

Min ist auch alles vnderdan,
Son, sterne vnd auch der mone,
Vnd alles das in der werlt lebet,
Vnd in des meres grunde strebet,
Vnd die cleynen fogellin.
Dar vmb mogen, mir, wol frolich sin,
Das mir alle die dienen gar
Mit der vier elementin schar
Erden, lofft, fier vnd wasser tzwar.

[1] See chaps. xvii. 1, 9; xviii. 1.

[2] See, however, Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 823, where it is suggested that Eusebius originated Lucifer.

[3] In the plays the Devil in paradise was usually represented by a woman, or a figure with a woman's head, *e.g.* **M**, p. 30, *in specie virginis*. The stage-direction in one of the *Weihnachtspiele* given by Weinhold is that the serpent is to be acted by a girl. "A werm with an aungelys face," *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 29; "manner of an edder . . . a medens face," *Chester Mysteries*, p. 26. This conception is frequent in the engravings. In the *Spiegel menschlicher Behältniss* (Zainer, Augsburg, *circa* 1470) there is a woodcut of the serpent as a clothed, winged, and crowned woman; her body terminates, however, in a dragon's tail.

no proud prince of hell, but a thoroughly contemptible craven, who fears even to be left alone; he is treated with contempt by his subordinates, although at the same time they recognise his authority. Mediæval legend blessed him with a grand-dam, mother, or wife, to whom reference is occasionally made in the plays.[1] The dramatists seem to have been imbued with Luther's[2] idea that the best method of treating the Devil was to pour scorn upon him; and, accordingly, a more pitiable, ludicrous being than the Lucifer of the plays can hardly be conceived. It is only in the opening scene of the Egerer Play that we reach the least trace of a higher artistic conception.

Satan is, on the whole, a better worked out character; he is the most enterprising and ambitious of the devils, although his cunning invariably overreaches itself, and he meets discomfiture at the hands of both God and man.[3] It is Satan who organises the hunt for souls; he prepares hell chains for the false prophet Christ (*Coventry Mysteries*, p. 309); he alone offers physical resistance to the triumphant Redeemer; and he is the devil who suggests plans for the restocking of hell after the withdrawal of the patriarchs. The passion-play conception of Satan is much like that of the negro revivalists, at once cunning and stupid, the fear and the jest of mankind. He

[1] For the characters of Lucifer and Satan see **B**, vol. ii. pp. 41-104; **L**, vol. ii. p. 305; **D**, p. 153; **F**, p. 292; **C**, pp. 4 *et seq.*; **H**, vol. ii. p. 70; **I**, pp. 96 *et seq.*, p. 144; *Theophilus*, Part I. ll. 778 *et seq.*, Part II. ll. 440 *et seq.*, etc. As to the Devil's female relatives see **I**, pp. 55, 102, 104; **C**, p. 13; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 842, *Märchen*, Nos. 29, 119, 125. All were extremely frequent proverbially and colloquially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see earlier essays, pp. 27, 202).

[2] See the *Tischreden*, iv. 73, 75, but often elsewhere.

[3] See, for example, Grimm's *Märchen*, Nos. 81, 125, 189.

boasts to Lucifer that he has brought about the death of Christ, but the next moment the same Christ is thundering at hell-gates. He runs off with a priest who is saying mass, but the priest exorcises him and drives him into a wild ravine, where even Lucifer is glad to be free of him for a time.[1] He brings a lawsuit against humanity, but mercy is stronger than justice, and he is dismissed with costs.[2] On all occasions the devil of mediæval drama is a part which verges on broad farce. There is only the one glimpse, which is lost almost at once, of a Prometheus or Loki type. And yet, if the reader would understand the Middle Ages, he must realise that the folk, like Luther, believed in and feared the Devil, even while they strove to laugh at him.

Of the minor characters, Judas fills the familiar part of the melodramatic stage-villain, even to a black nimbus. No attempt whatever is made to analyse the motives which may have led to his supposed treachery. The passion-play Judas is simply the incarnation of evil, and, beyond delight in ill-doing, without a reason for

[1] See **B**, vol. ii. p. 100. The *Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. xv., is, of course, the source of some of the mediæval conceptions.

[2] The lawsuit, *Satan* versus *Humanity*, was a frequent allegory. Thus we have Peter Mechel's play, *Ein schön Gespreche, darinnen der Sathan Anklager des gantzen menschlichen Geschlechts ist*, etc. The basis of Mechel's play, as of several others of like character, was Jakob von Teramo's *Belial, Processus Luciferi contra Jesum Christum*. This was written about 1400, but first printed by Zainer in 1472. See also *Coventry Mysteries*, xi. In a still-acted peasant play, *Das Paradiesspiel* (Weinhold, *Weihnachtspiele*), when Mercy has won the lawsuit, Christ beats the Devil about the shoulders with his cross back to hell. This might appear to the reader as a modern innovation in the worst taste, but it has really great antiquity. The conception is, in England at least, as old as the fourteenth century. Thus in the *Disputacio inter Mariam et Crucem* (*Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., p. 131), we find :—

> Til þe crosses dunt ȝaf him a daunt.—l. 428.
> Cristes Cros haþ craked his crown.—l. 287.
> Þe Cros I calle þe heerdes ȝerde,
> Þerwiþ þe deuel a dunt he ȝaf.—l. 295.

his action. Justice is amply satisfied when he is formally executed by Beelzebub, when Lucifer announces that he intends to ride him round hell, or declares that[1]—

Er muss sein mein spilhundt;
Tieff in der helle grundt
Da muess er prinnen und pratten;
Es wirt sein nimer ratten.
Ich wil in tieff versencken,
Mit schwevel, pech wil ich in trencken
Und wil ein feur geben zu essen
Und sein mit keiner pein vergessen.

Judas not only despatches himself with much realism, but is afterwards roasted and eaten by the devils for *morgensuppe*.

Pilate[2] possesses more individuality than Judas. Occasionally he is represented as the bitter foe of Christ who takes council with the Jews on how the false Messiah may be destroyed.[3] Generally, however, we have the Pilate of Christian tradition—a judge who is fully convinced of the innocence and, after the resurrection, of the divinity of the man he has con-

[1] See F, pp. 188, 189. The Devil sits on Judas in a picture of the *Last Judgment* by Meister Stephan; see the frontispiece. Alongside are the fatal pence. Dante represents Judas champed between Lucifer's teeth (*L'Inferno*, c. xxxiv. ll. 51-59). The general mediæval conception is well expressed in the fourteenth-century song:—

O du armer Judas was has tu gethan,
Das du deinem Herrn also verrathen hast!
Darumb mustu leiden in der Helle pein,
Lucifers Geselle mustu ewig sein. Kyrie eleison!

[2] Pilate, like Judas, had, according to tradition, led a disreputable life, references to which occur in the plays. He was the son of King *Atus*, his mother being the miller's daughter *Pila* ("Kyng Athus gate me of Pila," *Townley Mysteries*, p. 233. For the reputation of the mill in mediæval times see p. 150). The same etymological explanation of Pilate's name will be found in a twelfth-century German fragment, *Pilatus*, in Massmann, *Deutsche Gedichte d. 12. Jahrh.* pp. 145-152. For Pilate's life and crimes the reader may consult this fragment, and *Das alte Passional*, pp. 85 *et seq.*

[3] For example, the Vienna Easter-play, L, vol. ii. p. 299.

demned. To appease the Jews he orders the crucifixion, but at the same time he very formally washes his hands on the stage and strongly expresses his private views as to the innocence of the prisoner. Sometimes we find an element of realistic indifferentism; it is not his business to set watchers at the grave, but he will give his consent provided the Jews pay for the soldiers; as for the resurrection—well, the priests must themselves make the best they can of the disappearance of the body—it does not concern Pilate. The character is, however, rarely worked out with any consistency, not to say skill. Pilate will in the same play on one occasion term Jesus a swindler, and on another testify to his innocence.[1]

Lastly, we may, passing by the characters of the chief disciples, whose parts are slight, refer to Mary Magdalen, concerning whom the gospels left free scope for the mass of legend which soon gathered round this most poetic figure among mediæval favourites. Mary, according to legend, was the sister of Martha and Lazarus of Bethany. One version makes the family of noble, even royal birth; besides property in Jerusalem, they owned two castles, one at Bethany and the other at Magdala. When the children came of age Lazarus took the property in the city, desiring to be a soldier, while of the two castles Bethany fell to Martha and Magdala to Mary. Lazarus and Martha were prosperous

[1] See **A**, pp. 114 *et seq.*; **I**, pp. 129 *et seq.*; **B**, vol. i. p. 109, and vol. ii. pp. 301 *et seq.*; **F**, pp. 191 *et seq.* For the character and motives of Pilate, compare *La Résurrection du Sauveur*, Jubinal, Paris, 1834: "Jol' consenti par veiadie, Que ne perdisse ma baillie"; and *Towneley Mysteries*, p. 203: "I am fulle of sotelty, falsehood, gylt, and trechery."

and respected, but Mary devoted herself and her wealth to a life of wantonness.[1] This legendary view of Mary is fairly in accordance with the playwright's conception. In the Donaueschingen Play we are introduced to the Magdalen playing chess with her lover in the garden while attendants execute music—a scene which will be familiar to students of mediæval manuscript miniatures. Simon's servant passes the fence, and being questioned as to his errand, announces that he is preparing a meal for Jesus. Mary, struck with fear, sits regardless of the game. At this instant Jesus himself goes by; the game is thrust aside, a new light has dawned on the Magdalen, and she hastens off to the apothecary's shop.[2] It is impossible to deny either the grace or the dramatic power of the incident thus treated. Unfortunately other plays are more artificial. As we have noted earlier (p. 343), the Magdalen is usually introduced dancing in the company of devils. In the Erlauer Play we find her throwing ball[3] with the Devil; in the Alsfelder Play, after a dance of devils, the demon Natyr holds up a mirror to Mary; she then dances with one of Herod's soldiers, and her maid with the demon. In the Egerer Play we have a more realistic touch; Mary slinks away to avoid a meeting with Christ; the devil Belial is her comrade, and as a pair of lovers they wander into the

[1] Compare inter alia, *Das alte Passional*, pp. 368, 369.

[2] See B, pp. 189 *et seq.* The *Digby Mysteries* deserve special notice for their treatment of Mary Magdalen (pp. 56-83). The introduction of the good and bad angels, of the taverner, and of Mary sitting in her arbour thinking of her 'valentynes' may be noted. There is a wonderfully fine engraving by Lukas van Leyden (Bartsch, 122) of the Magdalen *in gaudio*. It represents a garden with music and amorous couples; in the background Martha and Lazarus in grief.

[3] Ball was a favourite game for women in the Middle Ages; see Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Bd. i. p. 422.

FIG. 6.—THE MAGDALEN *IN GAUDIO*. BY LUKAS VAN LEYDEN. *To face p.* 362.

meadows to weave garlands of flowers. Here it is that remorse seizes her.[1] Mary's remorse is generally symbolised in the plays by tearing off her fine clothes, jewels, or flowers, and this is always followed by the flight of the devil. In one play she curses her fine clothes, her roses, her white hands, the hair that has led to her perdition, her eyes, her cheeks, her unholy mouth, and even her pointed shoes.[2] In some cases Mary's conversion is brought about by seeing Christ, or hearing him teaching; generally, however, Martha is the immediate cause. Martha's sermons are not at first received cordially, and Mary even suggests that if her sister were not so old and scraggy she would take a different view of life,—as the case is, she does well to stick to her spinning-wheel. In one play Mary declares that she will repent later and turn nun (!) like Martha; at the same time she hints that even nuns are no better than they ought to be.[3] The St. Gallen *Leben Jesu* introduces with considerable skill the scene between Christ and the woman taken in adultery; between Mary's rejection of Martha's advice and her remorse, the spectators are left to draw their own conclusions.[4] The anointing of the Master's feet in Simon's house, although closely following the gospel story, is as a rule fairly spirited; while the part which the Magdalen plays at the crucifixion and resurrection has the special merits which we have already seen (p. 272) are peculiar to the typical *Marienklage*.

[1] For details see **I**, p. 107; **C**, pp. 58 *et seq.*; **F**, p. 103.
[2] See **J**, p. 98; **E**, p. 24; **I**, p. 117; **C**, p. 62.
[3] See **I**, pp. 110-112; **B**, vol. i. p. 81. [4] See **B**, vol. i. pp. 81-83.

VII.—*On the Performers in the great Folk Passion-Plays*

Of the essence of the modern drama are the professional actor and the professional playwright. In the Middle Ages, so soon as the folk had withdrawn the passion-play from sacerdotal influence, there was not a trace of the professional element. The man of the folk writes, and the people act, to amuse the people. The drama is the central feature of a municipal holiday-making; there is no rigid line between the amusers and the amused. The actors act for the pleasure of it, and the trained and salaried professional actor is unknown. Thus, whatever opportunities may have existed for the display of dramatic power in the passion-play characters we have just described—for individual interpretation as apart from symbolic significance—they were almost entirely thrown away by the untrained actors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These actors were homely burghers and simple craftsmen, who were probably only called upon to act once or twice in the course of the year,[1] and who had no conception that acting requires either genius or a lengthy education.

The religious drama, when it passed from the Church to the market-place, fell into the hands of honest but illiterate citizens, who generally took part in it by

[1] It might be imagined that the numerous *Fastnachtspiele* provided a dramatic school. But apart from the question of whether broad farce can be a training for religious tragedy, it may be doubted whether the great open-air spectacles would draw any dramatic profit from the characterless buffooneries of the wine-shop. It must be remembered, however, that the very street boys played at passion-plays, besides performing religious dramas at school: see Thomas Platter's *Autobiographie* (ed. Fechter), 1840, pp. 122-124.

reason of their corporate capacity as Mastersingers, or members of guilds and brotherhoods. Thus Sebastian Wild, tailor and mastersinger of Augsburg, wrote and published in 1566 a passion-play which was afterwards one of the chief components of the earliest Oberammergau text.[1] We hear also in the same century of the Mastersingers of Augsburg giving performances of the Stoning of Stephen, the Resurrection, and the Birth of Christ. The brotherhoods and guilds of Freiburg in the Breisgau appear to have been as active as the Mastersingers of Augsburg. Freiburg had at one time what we may fairly term a processional passion-play, every scene of which was undertaken by a distinct guild or brotherhood.[2] Each set of actors in costume, perhaps forming a tableau, either marched or were drawn on a car, accompanied by the members of their guild, through the streets of the town to the market-place, where on arrival they recited the portion of the passion allotted to them. It is probable even in Germany that in some processional plays the same scene was occasionally repeated at several points. At Freiburg the guild of painters acted the Fall, in which the Devil carried the tree of knowledge; the brotherhood of journeymen-coopers, the Sacrifice of Isaac; the guild of bakers, the Annunciation; the tailors, the Magi and Our Lady in

[1] See **D**, pp. 190-197, 229, 230; and compare **H**, pp. 203 *et seq.*

[2] In England religious plays were constantly given by the guilds. At Chester the tanners performed Lucifer's Fall, and the clothmakers the Creation, etc. There was a special guild for the play of the Lord's Prayer at York, where the trade guilds performed the *Corpus Christi* play, and there were pageant guilds at Beverley (see Toulmin Smith, *English Guilds*, E.E.T.S., p. 34, and the text of the statutes). The guilds of Coventry and those of Newcastle-on-Tyne had also elaborate *Corpus Christi* plays. A processional play undertaken by the guilds of Löbau is noticed in Flögel, *Geschichte der Grotesk-Komischen*, p. 264.

the Sun;[1] the shoemakers, the Massacre of the Innocents; the journeymen-tailors, the Triumphal Entry; the brotherhood of burnishers, the Last Supper; the bricklayers and carpenters, the Mount of Olives; the journeyman-shoemakers, the Scourging; the guild of coopers, the Ecce Homo; the butchers, the Bearing of the Cross; the goldsmiths, the Crucifixion; and the clothmakers, the Resurrection. Meanwhile the guild of pedlars performed Saint George; that of the barbers, Saint Ursula; the smiths, the Virgin with the children under her mantle,[2] and afterwards the Day of Judgment.[3] Somewhat later we find the tanners giving Twelve Angels bearing the Arms of Christ.[4] In a somewhat similar processional play which was given at Löbau at the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find the members of the monastery still taking part with the guilds, a remnant of the rapidly disappearing influence of the Church over the religious drama.

Clearly the method of folk-representation indicated in the processional play could not even preserve continuity in the acting of any single part which appeared

[1] We have already referred, in dealing with the Star in the East (p. 325), to this mediæval interpretation of the apocalyptic woman with the moon beneath her feet. The Greeks had a similar interpretation (see Mount Atlas in *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, p. 249). There are pictures in the Cologne Gallery (Nos. 95, 375): special prayers were used before such pictures,—see for example *Hortulus Animae* (Dillingen(?), 1560, fol. 208). The imprisoned Cellini, praying to see the sun, saw Our Lady in the sun, *Vita*, ed. Colonia, p. 173.

[2] On the wide-spreading mantle of grace, sheltering many sinners, we have remarked above (p. 350). Compare also Holbein's Solothurn and his Meyer Madonnas (Woltmann, pp. 181, 313). It was a favourite bit of symbolism with the Cologne School, and used for Saint Ursula as well as the Virgin (compare the Cologne Gallery pictures, for Virgin, Nos. 186, 230; for Saint Ursula, Nos. 124, 307). Benvenuto Cellini even adopted a like notion for a figure of God (see *Vita*, ed. Colonia, p. 61).

[3] See K, p. 194.

[4] The symbols of the passion arranged as a coat-of-arms,—a representation which will be familiar to students of mediæval miniatures and engravings.

in more than one scene. In the Frankfurt Play of 1498, Christ was played by no less than five different actors. Perhaps on this account, perhaps because each guild liked to emphasise the size and magnificence of its pageant, we find the number of actors immensely increased. The sixteenth-century stage-direction, "as many angels as possible," was amply fulfilled.[1] In Krüger's passion-play we find 46 needful parts; the Alsfelder play requires more than 100 actors; the Frankfurter play of 1498 some 265, while a Luzern play of 1597 demands upwards of 300 actors.[2] With such numbers it is clear that, if the play was not processional, the stage must be very large; the more so as the actors having taken up their proper positions upon it, in most cases never left it during the day's performance.[3] The Virgin Mary, having gone through her lamentations at the foot of the cross, must return to her allotted place and cease to lament. Pilate, having given his judgment, must sit still in his house while the cross was borne to the Calvary.

The expenses in the case of such a multitude of actors must have been considerable. But it may be doubted whether the actors in Germany received any other pay than a good meal. On the other hand, in England we find pretty full records of the payments to the actors in the *Coventry Mysteries* (see Marriott, *English Miracle-Plays*, 1838) about 1500. Thus we note *Imprimis to*

[1] See **H**, vol. ii. p. 9.

[2] See **S**, vol. iii. p. 133; **H**, vol. ii. p. 9; **L**, vol. ii. p. 244; and compare Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. i. p. 48 (200 actors).

[3] **E**, p. 1 (opening stage-directions). This arrangement is very obvious in the *Frankfurter Spiel* (**S**, p. 138); thus we read: *Jhesus surgat a loco suo*, and again (p. 141), *Jhesus quoque recipiat se in loco donec ordo eum iterum tangat.*

God, ijs, *Item to the devyll and to Judas*, xviiij^{d}, *Itm to Pilatt is wyffe*, iis, etc. Herod was paid 3s. 4d., Pilate 4s., the Holy Ghost 1s. 4d., Peter and Malchus 1s. 4d., the knights 2s., and the minstrel 1s. 2d.

Even when the play was not processional in the sense in which we have used that word, the actors usually marched to the stage in procession. Thus the first group of the Luzern procession consisted of a shield-bearer, an ensign, the Proclamator, St. Gregory, God the Father, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, and the angel Uriel. On the second day another group consisted of the executioner Achas, Amalech, Jesmas and Dismas (the two thieves[1]), God the Father, Longinus, Dionysius Areopagita, and the archangel Raphael. In the Alsfelder *Processio Ludi* we find included, Satan with a tree,[2] the devil Natyr with a mirror (see p. 362), the Cock, the Synagogue, two Jews carrying a Talmud, the Ecclesia, and, concluding a very long list, four damned souls with Death.[3]

After the day's performance the Proclamator would not unusually dismiss the assembly either to church or to supper :—

> Nun mag wol fraue und auch man
> frölich von dem marck heim gan
> und mügen essen mosanczen und fladen
> und sich erhollen ires schaden.[4]

[1] Jesmas and Dismas were highwaymen who attacked the Holy Family on the flight into Egypt. At Mary's entreaties, Dismas spared their lives, which much angered Jesmas. Mary gave Dismas her girdle as a token of his ultimate redemption (see **T**, p. 385).

[2] In the peasant-plays of Adam and Eve a decorated tree, representing the tree of knowledge, was carried about (see **R**, p. 112).

[3] See the processional lists in **B**, vol. ii. pp. 121, 125 ; **C**, p. 257.

[4] See **F**, p. 325 ; **C**, p. 91 ; **B**, vol. ii. p. 252. In the latter we read : 'Gat man . . . in der ordnung bis in die cappel."

Such, then, are the history, the characterisation, the stage, and the actors of the fully developed mediæval passion-play—the religious drama written by the mastersingers and acted by the craftsmen of the guilds. The change from the scenic ritual of the early Christian priests to the complex pageant of the market-place, with its hundreds of actors, its colour, its music, its folk-tongue, and its dancing, marks a change in the spirit of mediæval Christianity—its final appropriation by the folk as a folk-religion. Protestantism was again to wrest this religion from the hands of the people, and mark all these symbols, legends, and folk-beliefs as superstitious, where it did not, indeed, brand them as devilish. And with what result? That folk-symbolism and folk-art, municipal fête and the old religious socialism would be destroyed; that the withering grasp of a dogmatic religion of the schools—without symbolism, without art, without pageantry—would again be laid on the Teutonic folk-spirit. But that folk-spirit cannot be permanently shut out from moulding its religion and its art. In a lower or higher form it is sure, sooner or later, to drag them out from the cloister and the museum, and make them a factor of the streets and the market-place. Nor are traces wanting of the beginnings of such a revival of folk-influence in our life to-day. Those who seek will find both the healthy and the diseased germs.

VIII.—*The Contents of a Sixteenth-Century Passion-Play*

In order to bring more vividly before the reader the course of a fully developed religious folk-drama, I purpose in this, the last section of my essay, to briefly sketch the leading incidents of such a play, without slavishly following any particular version.

As soon as the procession had arrived at the stage, the chorus of angels would sing *Silete*,[1] and the *Precursor* or *Proclamator* would open the play. Usually he would call upon young and old, poor and rich, to attend to him, give them a short sermon on the meaning of the leading incidents in the Christian world-drama, suggest the need of penitence, recite the principal events of the first day's play, and bid the people make no disturbance, but listen attentively to all that shall follow. Sometimes the *Precursor* would adopt a more humorous folk-tone, of which the following—although taken from a fifteenth-century carnival play—is a very fair specimen :[2]—

Silence, now for a while to-day,
Come and hear what we've got to say,
You in the corners here and there!
Yonder old women will talk away
Why in the world their hens won't lay!
Other old gammers their gaffers are rating,
Can't they see that we all are waiting?

[1] For example, in the *Ludus de decem Virginibus* (*Wartburg Bibliothek*, i. p. 15) *Angeli cantant* :—

Nu swigit liben lute
lazzit u bedute.
Swigit, lazt uch kunt tůn, etc.

[2] 'Ain spil von mayster Aristotles' (Keller, No. 128, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem 15ten Jahrhundert*, Stuttg. Lit. Verein).

After the Precursor's speech would follow, according to circumstances, a variety of 'prefigurations' or scenes from the Old Testament, usually commencing with the Creation of the Angels and accompanied by the Fall of Lucifer. In the Egerer and Luzerner Plays these scenes occupied the morning of the first day,—in the latter case from six o'clock till two o'clock. Passing them by as already sufficiently dealt with (p. 264), we may note the Council of Lucifer and the Devils in hell, summoned to devise a means of counteracting the work of salvation. The devils determined to take active steps to seduce the Jews from the path of virtue. The devil's mother Hellekrugk assists at this conference, which not improbably ends in blows.[1] The gospel story now commences with the birth of the Virgin. The sacrifice of Joachim is refused in the Temple, and he leaves his wife Anna. The archangel Michael recalls him, and he meets and embraces Anna at the golden gate. She retires for a few moments and then returns with a child, the Virgin. Thereupon the sacrifice of the parents is received by the priest Isachar. To realise these passion-play scenes—the story of the Immaculate Conception—the reader has only to turn to Dürer's illustrations of the Life of the Virgin.[2] We may next have an incident or two from the Virgin's childhood, her life in the Temple, Isachar's determination

[1] C, pp. 5-13. See also Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. p. 38.

[2] See Cuts 2-6. These and several later incidents in the Virgin's life are taken from the *Protevangelion*. Independent plays dealing with the Virgin were popular, *e.g.* "dramatische voorstelling op Marialichtmis in de Lebuïnus-kerk, waarbij de kanunniken hem de rol van Maria met het kindele lieten vervullen" (A.D. 1378-1411). See Acquoy, *Het Klooster te Windesheim*, Utrecht, 1875, i. p. 273.

that the consecrated Mary should marry, the summons to all men of David's lineage, and the bursting into bud of the aged Joseph's rod.[1] Joseph immediately after the marriage goes off to work and Mary retires to her 'oratory,' where Gabriel, followed by the *columba de throno*, announces in florid language the conception.[2] Then follows the journey to Bethlehem with a comic interlude. Joseph speaks of his wife as 'the Virgin,' a statement not confirmed by appearances; and, partly on this account and partly because he has no money to pay, all the innkeepers refuse to put them up.[3] Refuge is at last found in a tumble-down outhouse, where the child is born.[4] Then we have the shepherds keeping

[1] See **F**, pp. 46-49. The incidents are in *Pseudo-Mathew*, chap. v., and the *Protevangelion*, chap. viii.

[2] Exactly as in Dürer's Cut 8, where a water-pot is introduced to reconcile *Pseudo-Mathew*, chap. vii., with *Protevangelion*, chap. ix. In Wernher's *Driu liet von der Maget* (l. 2115) the former account is followed, but *Das alte Passional* (p. 14) slurs over the discrepancy. In an Advent song from Unterwessen, Gabriel comes to the Virgin by *night* in her bedchamber, not in the oratory, but I have found no other instance of this (see **R**, No. 7, p. 62). The Annunciation seems, as I have already noted (see p. 290), at some places to have formed part of the scenic ritual. Thus in a thirteenth-century Besançon ritual cited by Martene (Liber iv. cap. 10. § 30) we read: "In Biscentina vero B. Magdalenae parochiali Ecclesia dum idem Evangelium (*Missus est angelus*) in missa cantatur, puella quaedam eleganter composita, et prius diligenter edocta, B. Virginis personam gerens, respondeat diacono legenti, iisdem verbis quibus Gabrieli Archangelo redemptionis nostrae mysterium annuntianti Beatissima Virgo Maria respondit." Martene refers in the same section to other less noteworthy rituals.

[3] See **Q**, pp. 146, 203, but often elsewhere in the greater passion-plays. It was a peculiarly popular incident in the peasant-plays, and in them has survived to the present day: see **R**, pp. 48, 64, 65, 92, 101-104, but especially the *Rosenheimer Dreikönigspiel*, p. 169; also the fifteenth-century *Weihnachtsspiel*, edited by Piderit, p. 97; *Coventry Mysteries*, pp. 145 *et seq.*; and, with a variety of comic incident, the *Chester Plays*, pp. 119 *et seq.* In the latter one of the shepherds gives a pair of his wife's old hose, while in the German *Weihnachtsspiel* it is Joseph's old hose which are used to wrap the child in. These hose appear to be traditional, for we find Luther referring to them in a Christmas sermon on Luke ii. 1-14.

[4] See **F**, p. 59, for 'das zerprochen haus,' exactly as in Dürer's Cut 10.

watch by night, and the adoration of the shepherds.[1] Close upon their heels come the three Magi, who have seen the star from *Mons Victorialis*, and who narrate the wonders that have brought them to Judea.[2] A messenger announces their arrival and purpose to Herod, who curses the messenger, but entertains the Magi, while his wise men and astrologers are consulted. The three kings then depart for Bethlehem, where, before the Adoration, a curious incident is generally given. The youngest king desires eagerly to be the first to salute Jesus, and accordingly he becomes grey and aged,—God has listened to his prayer and transformed him into the eldest.[3] In the Erlauer Play the eldest, Caspar, naïvely takes off his grey beard and gives it to the youngest. The angel Uriel warns the Magi that, to avoid the plots of Herod and his wise men, who desire to know where Christ is, they should go back 'by another way' to their places,—an incident which occurs in the Church ritual. We have then the Flight into Egypt, followed by the Massacre of the Innocents. Comic or folk-elements are introduced in Herod's messenger or fool, and again in

[1] We have already seen that the shepherds formed the subject of an Advent scenic ritual; we have noted the 'solemnis ad praesepe retro altare praeparatum processio' at Rouen (see pp. 290 *et seq.*); and other rituals will be found in Martene, Liber iv. cap. 10. to cap. 12. (*De adventu Domini*, *De vigilia natalis Domini* and *De festo natalis Domini*).

[2] To the Three Kings plays I have already mentioned may be added the *Oblacio Magorum*, *Townley Mysteries*, p. 120, and *Le Jeu des trois Roys*, Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. p. 84. In the Egerer Play the three kings mount three hills to see the wonderful star which contains the mother and child (ll. 1738, 1779, 1819, 1905). Hans Memling, in his *Seven Joys of the Virgin* (Munich, Pinakothek, No. 655), has painted the three kings kneeling on three mountain-tops and looking for the miraculous star. See also Wright, *Chester Plays*, pp. 276, 284.

[3] This ancient legendary feature has been preserved in the modern peasant-plays (see **R**, p. 183 footnote and text).

the conduct of the soldiers who, amid the lamentations of Rachael and the women of Bethlehem, destroy the infants, not without a taste of the women's distaves. In one play at least Herod dies terribly, and is carried off by rejoicing devils.[1] Other additional incidents frequently introduced into the first day's performance are the Banquet of Herod, the Dancing of Herodias's daughter, the Beheading of John the Baptist, and the Dance of the Devils with Herodias and her daughter to hell.[2] Some plays went as far in the first day as the Banquet in Simon's house, but the usual and more fitting beginning of the second day's performance was the commencement of Christ's public ministry.[3]

On the second day there would be the Calling of the Disciples, the Temptation, and several of the more noteworthy miracles,[4] but the incident for which the audience looked with the greatest expectancy was that of the Magdalen and her lovers. Of the general method of treating this incident enough has been said (p. 362). Mary's repentance is followed by Simon's banquet, which, in the Donaueschingen play, consists of bread and fish. This takes place much in the gospel fashion, the actual anointing, however, being occasionally a

[1] See J, p. 91; I, pp. 15 *et seq.*, especially p. 23; F, pp. 73-89; B, vol. ii. pp. 161, 172, etc.; *Rosenheimer Dreikönigspiel*, R, p. 187; *Chester Plays*, p. 185.

[2] Mediæval legend describes an illicit passion of Herodias for John. At last, when she has his head on the charger, she can kiss the lips; but the head springs upright on the charger and blows her into space. A head on a charger frequently appears in mediæval legend, and the folklore of the subject deserves critical examination (see C, p. 35).

[3] Compare the Egerer Play (F) with the Alsfelder (C) and Luzerner (B, vol. ii. pp. 125-127).

[4] The Frankfurt Play works off the miracles in a batch; a blind, a lame, a dumb, a leprous, a sick man are cured in rapid succession (see S, p. 140).

choral interlude in almost the words of the Latin ritual. The Magdalen starts with the hymn :—

Jesu Christi auctor vitae.[1]

Upon which the disciples chant :—

Accessit ad pedes Jesu peccatrix,

an antiphone of the Roman Breviary, while the washing of Christ's feet is accompanied by descriptive chants. The whole is concluded by the chorus or the Magdalen singing the wonderful hymn :[2]—

Jhesu nostra redemptio,
amor et desiderium,
deus creator omnium,
homo in fine temporum.

Then follows a scene in which the devils give vent to their rage at the loss of the Magdalen's soul, but Belial finally comforts Satan with the prospect of seducing Judas.[3]

Sometimes before, sometimes after the repentance of Mary we have the resurrection of Lazarus. It is preceded by his illness. Death, personified, gives him the 'todes strigk,' and preaches a dance-of-death sermon on the transitory life of all flesh. The resuscitation scarcely needs comment, except for the emphasis which, in order to magnify the miracle, the sisters lay

[1] See F, p. 106; C, p. 86; I, p. 118; and compare Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, No. 1057.

[2] It is needless to point to the influence of the Church ritual. The reader may compare *Anglo-Saxon Hymnarium*, Surtees Society, 1851, p. 83 (beginning of eleventh century).

[3] See F, p. 107; C, p. 90.

on the state of the dead.[1] This miracle is usually made the basis of the hostility of the Jewish priesthood. Several scenes often follow in which the Jewish leaders take counsel as to how they may destroy Jesus.

Here we may note that besides Annas, Caiaphas, and a multitude of Jews given by name, we have a personified *Synagoga*, who is not only the chief enemy of Christ, but often the representative of Judaism, in somewhat wearisome discussions with a personified *Ecclesia*, or champion of Christianity. These discussions appear at least as early as the twelfth century, and in the fifteenth were made the subject of separate plays. The effect which these mock discussions must have had in increasing racial hatred—since the most villainous opinions are put into the mouths of the Jews, and all sorts of persecution are commended—can scarcely be overrated by the student of mediæval Jewish history.[2] To the assistance of *Synagoga* in her desire to destroy Jesus

[1] 'Er stincktt sere, ich weys es woll' (**E**, p. 109, and **C**, p. 71, pointing to a common source). Compare **B**, vol. ii. p. 95; *Chester Plays*, p. 229. In Hilarius's *Suscitatio Lazari* (*circa* 1130) we have the same notion: "Fetorem non poteris sustinere mortui, namque ferens graviter fumus est quatridui" (p. 32). In the same play the 'Jewish' comforters of the two sisters are naïvely bald in their sympathy: "Talis lamentacio, Talis ejulacio, non est necessaria."

[2] A striking example is the carnival-play of the Nürnberg barber and mastersinger Hans Folz, entitled *Die alt und neu ee* (see Keller's *Fastnachtspiele*, No. 1). A long *Disputacio Ecclesiae cum Sinagoga* occurs at the end of the second day's performance in the *Alsfelder Spiel* (**C**, p. 143). There is another in the *Künzelsauer Fronleichnamsspiel* (see Bartsch's *Germania*, Bd. iv.) The *Frankfurter Spiel* ends also with such a dispute, and with the baptism of Jews by St. Augustine. A certain 'Christiana,' with a red banner and gold cross, and a 'Judea,' with a banner and black idol, abuse each other in the *Donaueschingen Spiel* (**B**, ii. pp. 328, 329). Mone's note as to the French origin of the dispute (*ibid.* p. 164) is, I believe, hardly justified; compare the German-Latin play in the *Carmina Burana* (**J**, p. 94). The Church is often personified as a female figure crowned and with a nimbus; she holds a chalice in one hand and a cross in the other (see Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 85). For the dress of *Ecclesia* see the twelfth-century drama *De adventu Christi* (**H**, p. 220). There

comes Satan; he goes to Judas and promises him good pay if he will betray Christ. He then brings Judas to the conclave at the 'Jewish School.' It will be obvious to the reader that the conduct of the devils is hopelessly stupid and without any motive; they fear Christ has come from heaven to die for men, and their object should be to hinder the crucifixion; they are represented as assisting it, apparently with the sole object of winning Judas' soul in exchange for the Magdalen's. At the same time their language shows that they are acquainted with Christ's purpose, and hate him accordingly.

About this time in most of the plays we have the counting out to Judas by Caiaphas of the thirty pence. Judas objects first to one penny as rusty, to a second as not ringing well, to a third as broken, to a fourth as having a hole through it, to a fifth as having a wrong impress, and so on. Caiaphas does not take these objections in good part, but the bargain is finally struck. In the Heidelberg Play Judas goes directly from the banquet of Simon to Caiaphas, and the motive for the betrayal is the reproof he has there received. This at least indicates how perplexed the mediæval playwrights were to find a reason for Judas' conduct.[1]

appears to be a very early *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*, but I have not been able to see a copy. A ninth-century painting at Aquileia contains both *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*; so also the thirteenth-century porch of the Freiburg Minster, which (p. 322) we have already seen is of interest in relation to the religious plays. Compare, too, Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. pp. 258-260, who cites an *Altercatio* from the twelfth century, p. 404. The arguments of Christian and Jew are opposed to each other with much prolixity in *Der sele Wurtzgartt*, Ulm, 1483. In the Tyrolese *Ludus de ascensione Domini*, the Archasinagogus mimics Christ with a mock prayer and creed (ed. Pichler, p. 12). Even as late as this century an altercation between a Pastor and a Jew formed a "Nachspiel" to a peasant-play (see **R**, p. 142).

[1] See **E**, p. 140; **C**, p. 100; **D**, p. 10.

In the next place we have the entry into Jerusalem; this formed a choral procession, which with the mediæval power of pageantry must have been extremely effective. Choruses of the disciples, of youths, of the people, greet the Messiah in the ringing lines of the old Latin processional hymns, such as the *Jesus redemptor omnium* and the *Gloria laus;* or they intone verses from the Vulgate, as *Hic est salus noster et redemptor Israhel.* All is gladness, song, and dancing. The Church influence in this scene has still remained predominant, and we find a close relationship with the Palm Sunday ritual.[1]

From this incident onwards the passion scenes proper follow each other in rapid succession. Jesus announces his intention of going up to Jerusalem for the Passover, and speaks of his approaching death. Mary, his mother, begs him to find another method of redeeming mankind, for how shall she find comfort? Mary the Magdalen, who has means of ascertaining all that is going forward in Jerusalem, warns Jesus of imminent danger. Can he not eat the paschal lamb with them in Bethany? Mary, his mother, shows him the breasts he has sucked, and entreats him for her sake to

[1] See **F**, p. 120; **S**, p. 144; **C**, p. 80, and **B**, vol. ii. p. 246. We find the same choruses in the tenth-century *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren, p. 256) and the sixteenth-century plays, *e.g.* the *Gloria laus et honor* and the *Ingrediente Domino.* Compare also the following ritual from Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus,* Liber iv. cap. 20. § 12: "Tunc scholastici e regione Crucis lento gradu veniant ad eam et cum omni reverentia casulos et cappas in terram jactantes proni adorent crucifixum clero interim cantante antiphonam *Pueri Hæbreorum,* etc. His recedentibus continuo veniant ex latere pueri laici *Kyrie eleison* cantantes, et sequendo vexillum quod ante eos portatur, veniant ante crucem, et annuente aedituo jactent ramos palmarum in terram, proni adorando crucifixum, et clerus interim canat antiphonam *Pueri Hæbreorum,* etc." Gerardus in his *Life of St. Udalric* describes a somewhat similar ritual, but with a procession *cum effigie sedentis Domini super asinum* (*ibid.* § xiv.)

avoid the bitterness of the cross.[1] She reminds him of the commandment he has himself ordained: "Honour thy father and thy mother." But all is in vain, the final sacrifice must be offered. Mary, the Mother, turns to Judas and begs him to keep watch and ward over her son, and the traitor promises to die in his defence.[2] The whole of this scene has much dramatic power, and is a little oasis in the arid routine of much of the more solemn parts of the passion-plays. The disciples Peter and John are now sent to find 'the man with the pitcher.' This host is ready to receive them, and points out his dishes and his cloths.[3] The last supper follows, with but few embellishments, on the lines of the gospel story: we find the statement of the new law of love; the washing of the disciples' feet, during which each disciple sometimes recites an article of the Apostles' Creed;[4] the distribution of the bread and wine (in some plays entirely operatic); the announcement of Judas' betrayal, and the prophecy of Peter's denial.

The scene in the Garden of Gethsemane retains something of the power of a real spiritual contest. Jesus comes alone to the Mount of Olives—perhaps an inverted tub—upon which is placed a cup; occasionally the stage-directions tell us that an angel is to

[1] A somewhat similar notion is treated in a picture by the Elder Holbein at Augsburg.

[2] See **F**, pp. 133-135, 137, 140; **D**, p. 11.

[3] See **E**, p. 148; **C**, p. 95; **B**, vol. ii. p. 254.

[4] This recitation by paragraphs of the Apostles' Creed occurs also in the *Himmelfahrt Mariä* (**A**, p. 24). See also **F**, p. 147. The foot-washing was carried out in this manner in the recent Brixlegg passion-play. The reader may also consult Cuts 46 and 47 of the *Schatzbehalter*. The incident seems based on an apocryphal sermon of Saint Augustine. Compare the footnote (p. 396) to the Day of Judgment.

appear bearing a cup or cross,[1] sometimes a series of angels pass by bearing the symbols of the passion.[2] The actor who performs the *Salvator* is to remain stretched on the ground crosswise, "a good paternoster long."[3] On the arrival of Judas, we have the kiss of betrayal, to distinguish Jesus from the disciple James, who is very like him in figure.[4] Then follows the thrice-repeated question of Jesus, and the thrice-repeated falling upon their backs of the soldiers; this is to illustrate the voluntary character of the sacrifice. We have next the valiant deed of Peter; Malchus on recovering his ear only bids the crowd look at the magician, the juggler who has restored it to him, and then, as we have before noticed, becomes the leader of the gang of ruffians who are represented with the utmost extravagance as striking, hustling, and scoffing the bound prophet of Galilee. In such fashion 'the Jews' *corizando et cantando canticum aliquod* (as 'Jesus the deceiver') lead off their Christ to Annas.[5]

While a considerable amount of horse-play is being practised on the prisoner, the denial of Peter takes place. The mediæval conception of Peter—the heavenly gate-keeper—was not very complimentary, and he is occasionally treated in folk-tale and *Märchen* with the

[1] Always in the pictures and woodcuts. See **F**, p. 157; **B**, vol. ii. p. 263; **K**, p. 36; and **D**, p. 23. Further note *La Passion de nostre Seigneur* in Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, p. 183; *Townley Mysteries*, p. 184, where the Trinity (*sic!*) comforts Jesus; and *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 282.

[2] This conception was revived in the Brixlegg play. In a woodcut of the *Hortulus Animae* (High German version, Dillingen, 1560) the angel bears a cross (folio 198 *reverso*), while in the *Schatzbehalter* (Figure 52) a cross placed in a cup appears on the top of the rock.

[3] See **B**, vol. ii. p. 265.

[4] Compare *Ludus de ascensione Domini* (ed. Pichler, p. 9) with **C**, p. 102.

[5] See **C**, p. 109.

familiarity which borders on contempt. In the passion-plays two maids address this disciple in no very flattering terms: "You old bald-pate," "you old traitor," etc., "were you not with him?" After each denial the cock on the post, a great feature of the stage apparatus, calls out:[1]—

Gucze gu gu gu ga!
Peter lug lug lug nu da!

This scene usually contains the *puczpirn*, or the game with the blindfolded Christ. It appears to have been a very common children's game in the Middle Ages. One blindfolded child being placed in the centre, the others gather pears from different parts of his body: "The pears are sweet, here by the feet"; "At the top of the tree are ripe pears, see," and so forth; each jingle is accompanied by a pull, until the blindfolded child guesses the pear-plucker's name.[2] This game, with every conceivable insult and violence, was played on the blindfolded Christ, and to judge by its frequent occurrence in the plays must have met with much popular approval. Next the interview with Caiaphas follows, which only serves to throw into still greater prominence the supposed brutal passions of the hated Jews. This leads up to the first interview with Pilate.

On the character and motives of the Roman com-

[1] See **C**, p. 109. The denial scene varies a good deal; compare **F**, p. 169; **K**, p. 123, etc.

[2] A jingle possibly for this game will be found in Wolff's *Zeitschrift*, iv. p. 351. As to *butz*, see Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, vol. i. p. 316; compare Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 418, and *Wunderhorn* (ed. Reclam), p. 823. References to pictures of the incident have been given (p. 262). The game is one form of *Blindekuh* or blindman's-buff. It is introduced onto the stage also in a farce of Herzog Heinrich Julius (ed. Tittmann, p. 106).

mander I have already commented (p. 360). Conscious of the innocence of the accused, Pilate sends him to Herod, who is delighted at seeing the famous juggler (*gougelman*) of whose doings he has heard so much. As Jesus refuses to exhibit his magical powers Herod holds him for a perfect fool (*ein rechter thore*), and sends him back in fool's garb to Pilate with profuse expressions of friendship for the latter.[1]

Probably about this stage of the play Judas is overcome by remorse, and, casting his thirty pence at Caiaphas' feet,[2] takes a rope and proceeds to hang himself. Beelzebub and other devils run to offer him assistance, or sit on the gallows and mock him. According to the stage-directions a black bird shall fly away from him,[3] and Beelzebub shall tear open his bosom and let fall "etwas tärmen." Meanwhile the chorus sing *O du armer loser Judas!*[4] and the devils with fire-forks dance round him and off with him to hell, where Lucifer receives him in the highest glee.[5]

The second audience with Pilate is marked by the Barabbas incident and the scourging. In the former, Barabbas, released from the stocks, runs at once to fetch a scourge and a rope in order to assist. The scourging is of an extravagantly brutal character in

[1] See **C**, p. 129; **F**, p. 182; **D**, p. 44; **K**, pp. 146 *et seq.*; and **J**, p. 103, where we read, "Tunc conveniant Pilatus et Herodes et osculentur invicem."

[2] These pence were coined by Abraham's father, and belonged successively to Potiphar (as Joseph's purchase-money), the Queen of Sheba (given to Solomon), the Magi, the Virgin Mary, the High Priest, and Judas! They may be found alongside Judas in hell: see the frontispiece. Note the fourteenth-century *Drei Könige* (Simrock, *Volksbücher*, iv. p. 459), and *Chester Plays*, p. 291.

[3] On the souls of sinners as crows compare Grimm's *Märchen*, No. 107, *Die beiden Wanderer*. See also p. 331.

[4] This is the old hymn, afterwards 'christlich verändert' by Luther.

[5] See **C**, p. 115; **F**, p. 188; **B**, vol. ii. pp. 281 *et seq.*, etc.

both action and language; the bullies strike till they break their rods, they fall to the ground in sheer exhaustion, and refresh themselves from Barabbas's wine-flask. The crown of thorns, precisely as in the woodcuts, is forced into the flesh by long rods pulled downwards at either end by the Jewish persecutors.[1] In the condition due to such torture—a condition represented with painful realism by some modern as well as mediæval passion-plays—Pilate leads Jesus to a window, and shows him to the people to excite sympathy, *Ecce homo!* The Jews will listen neither to Pilate's words, nor to his sighs. Even the intercession of his wife Pilatessa (occasionally called Portula, queen of Hanalaps)—to whom Belial or Satan has appeared in a threatening dream with the view of hindering the work of redemption—cannot stay the judgment. The Jews lay stress on the Emperor's displeasure. Pilate breaks his staff,[2] with much ceremony washes his hands, and

[1] Besides the pictures to which I have referred on p. 263, I may notice that the earliest *engraving* of these stakes which I have come across occurs in a unique *Leiden Christi* at Munich from about 1460. Some account will be found in Stoeger, *Zwei der ältesten deutschen Druckdenkmäler*, Munich, 1833. See also *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 316.

[2] In Holbein's *Todtentanz* the staff of the judge is broken by Death. The staff was in northern mythology the symbol in the hands of the gods of their power over living and dead (see Simrock, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1878, p. 178). The judge in nearly all mediæval woodcuts is represented with a staff, and the staff was raised when an oath was taken; its modern equivalent is the judge's mace. In most of the cuts of the *Layenspiegel* (1544), the judge is represented as holding the staff vertically in his hand. The same conception will be found in the cuts of the *Bambergische Halsgerichts Ordnung*, 1531 (even the fool as judge has a staff!), and of Karl V.'s *Peinlich Halsgericht*, Frankfurt, 1577, and indeed of all old German law-books. See also the second cut of Zainer's *Schachzabelbuch* of 1477, and a cut from 1442 in Holtrop: *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas*, p. 40. Nearly all the great series of Passion cuts represent Pilate with the staff. In a peasant Three Kings play taken from oral tradition (in 1875), 'Conscience' tells Herod he cannot hope for grace: 'Der stab ist gebrochen,' *i.e.* he is condemned (see *Rosenheimer Dreikönigspiel* in R).

with a flourish of trumpets condemns Christ.[1] Thus very usually and fitly ends the second day's performance.

The third and last day's performance was the richest in incident, the most varied in character, and probably the one best calculated to excite the strong if not very refined emotions of a mediæval audience. Throughout all its scenes run the choral lamentations of the mother and of the woman to whom Christ had brought new life. These, as we have already noted, bear traces of the inspiration of the great lyric poets of an earlier age, and still in their rough folk-versification are not without beauty. On the way to Calvary, under the Cross, at the Entombment, we have a picture of the Virgin as mother which contrasts oddly with the divinity elsewhere so lavishly bestowed upon her. I shall not refer more minutely to these *Marienklagen*,[2]

[1] For the above account, see **C**, pp. 135-143; **F**, pp. 198-203; **B**, vol. ii. pp. 298-305; **D**, pp. 55, 58; **K**, p. 155; **S**, p. 150. In a fête held in 1313, mentioned by Geoffrey of Paris, we read :—

> Les tisserands représenter
> . . . Adam et Ève,
> Et Pilate qui ses mains lève.

See Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. i. p. 22. In *La Passion de nostre Seigneur* (*ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 223-226), Pilate's wife, accompanied by her son and daughter, goes to entreat Pilate (see *Schatzbehalter*, Fig. 74). Pilatessa and her maids offer much of interest in relation to mediæval social life and its conceptions (see **F**, p. 207).

[2] *Marienklagen*, as independent plays, are to be found in **B**, vol. i. pp. 31, 198, with interesting introductions; **I**, p. 150, Latin and German; **L**, vol. ii. p. 259; Schönemann, *Der Sündenfall*, 1855; and **Z**. There is small doubt that at a very early date *Marienklagen* formed part of the Church ritual, quite apart from their relation to the later passion-plays. They were introduced into the Good Friday service of the *Adoratio crucis* after the hymn *Crux fidelis*, and before the cross was carried to the sepulchre; see **M**, pp. 129, 138, 144 (Hic portant crucem ad sepulchrum), and 146 (Maria cadit ad sepulchrum). But the Freising rubric in particular should be noted: "Hic incipit ludus . . . et debet cantari post Crux fidelis, et sic finire usque ad vesperam lamentabiliter cum ceteris sicut consuetum est fieri."

only let the reader bear in mind that they are an all-important feature in the latter portion of the typical passion-play.

The third day's play opens with a considerable amount of bustle, the 'beadles' and soldiers, foremost among them Barabbas and Malchus, hurry about seeking the necessary implements; one brings the Cross,[1] another the three blunt nails,[2] a third the hammer and pincers, and so on. The two thieves, Dismas and Jesmas, are taken from the stocks, and

[1] Occasionally reference is made to the well-known legend of the Holy Rood as grown from a twig of the tree of life brought by Seth from the garden of Eden. Separate mysteries of this legend were common, and it formed an integral part of some of the longer plays (see Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. pp. 17-20; **B**, vol. i. pp. 307, 313, vol. ii. pp. 28, 46). Generally, as to the legend of the Holy Rood, consult Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S.; Keller's *Fastnachtspiele*, *Nachlese*, *Das heilig kreutz spil*, No. 125; *Nürnberger Buch der Croniken ix*[b]; Simrock, *Volksbücher*, xiii. p. 445; *Reinke de Vos*, l. 4886; *Das alte Passional*, p. 98; Geffcken, *Bildercatechismus*, p. 71; Schönemann, *Der Sündenfall*, p. 43; and, of course, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. xiv. 4, etc.

[2] As to the number of nails used for the crucifixion, we find, according to Didron, that three or four were used indifferently up to the tenth century. Gregory of Tours and Durandus were in favour of four. After the thirteenth century the practice of using only three came definitely into the ascendant (*Christian Iconography*, p. 271). Much interesting information, with copious authorities, is given by Morris (*Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. 19). Knackfuss, in a recent monograph on Velasquez, speaks of that artist in his *Crucifixion* (in the Prado Museum at Madrid from about 1640) having reintroduced the ancient four nails, therein following the advice of his father-in-law Francisco Pacheco, who, in his book on painting, is very much opposed to the custom which had arisen in the thirteenth century of crossing the legs and using only three nails (p. 30). My own notes on German representations give the following among other results:

Four Nails.—Processional cross from Stift Essen about 980; ivory reliefs, tenth-eleventh centuries (*Berlin Museum* and elsewhere); cross of gilt bronze (*Berlin Museum*); extremely early colossal crucifix at Munich (*National Museum*, Saal I.) In short, reliefs and crucifixes before 1200 have usually four nails.

Three Nails.—Munich, National Museum: Pöhl altarpiece (Saal III.), 1380-1420; altarpiece from Franciscan church at Bamberg (Saal IV.), 1429; Calcar altar (Saal X.), 1450-1500. *Munich, Pinakothek:* Wolgemuth (No. 27), 1450-1500; Wolgemuth, Hopfer altar; Cologne master (No. 622), *circa* 1466. *Cologne Gallery:* Master Wilhelm's School (No. 44), *circa* 1380; Gothic

Caiaphas starts the procession to Golgotha.[1] Jesus being unable to bear the cross, simple Simon, a pilgrim, is forced to assist. Then follow the prophetic words to the women of Jerusalem, and the beautiful incident with Veronica.[2] The nailing to the cross is performed with extreme brutality, and the whole process of hammer and gimlet painfully emphasised.[3] As the cross is raised, we have again vestiges of the Church ritual in the singing of the Latin hymns: *O crux, ave spes unica* and *Ecce lignum crucis* of the old ceremonial *Adoratio crucis*[4] (see p. 293). The Virgin comes forward, and, heedless of the scoffing of the

Painting (No. 30), *circa* 1250; Master of Lyversborg Passion; Anton Wonsam. *Augsbury Gallery:* Wolgemuth (No. 43), 1450-1500; Altorfer (No. 47), 1517. *Berlin Museum:* Veit Stoss, *circa* 1496. *Würzburg:* Conrad von Thüngen's grave in the Cathedral, *circa* 1540. *Weimar Church:* Cranach altarpiece. *Nürnberg, Germanisches Museum:* Wolgemuth, Christ stooping from the Cross to St. Bernard, *circa* 1488. *Ramersdorf:* Fresco Crucifixion, early fourteenth century.

Four Nails.—Hans Burgkmair at Augsburg (No. 44), *circa* 1518; drawing by Hans Baldung Grien in the Albertina, 1533; and quite modern pictures, like Dietrich's *Crucifixion* at Dresden.

These few examples seem to show that the four nails were peculiar to carving, where the crossing of the knees is by no means easy technically. The three nails came in with painting (yet were used by Adam Krafft and Veit Stoss); they are more graceful than the four, and the foreshortening is fairly easy on canvas. Finally, Burgkmair and Grien, not Velasquez, seem to have reintroduced the four nails.

[1] **B**, vol. ii. p. 306; **F**, p. 217, etc.

[2] See **C**, p. 168 ('simplex Symon'; compare *Chester Plays*, ii. p. 51, 'Symon of Surrye'); **B**, vol. ii. p. 309 ('ein bilgem'); **D**, p. 61; **K**, p. 161; **E**, p. 231, etc. Compare Fig. 81 of the *Schatzbehalter*. I have treated the Veronica incident, artistically and liturgically, at a length I once hoped to treat the whole Passion, in a separate work, *Die Fronica, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christbildes im Mittelalter*, Strasburg, 1887.

[3] On the passion-play stage the holes for the hands were invariably made too far apart, and a rope used to strain the arms of the sufferer. Compare also *Digby Plays*, ii. l. 1338; *Chester Plays*, ii. 58; *Coventry Plays*, p. 319. This is represented with realistic hideousness in Fig. 85 of the *Schatzbehalter*. In these typical passion-play woodcuts Wolgemuth renders the brutality of the Jews as strongly as either Dürer or Cranach. See, for example, Fig. 81, where the soldiers make mouths at the Virgin.

[4] **F**, p. 235; **E**, p. 174.

soldiery, covers with her veil the nakedness of her son.[1] The inscription of Pilate is placed above Christ, and the Jews *dance* round the cross.[2] The garments are now rent and divided, but the Jews throw dice for the coat of Jesus. The dice are taken from the pocket of one of the thieves, and a doubt is expressed whether they may not be loaded.[3]

Meanwhile, in the midst of Mary's lamentations, John, in order to fulfil literally the prophecy of Simeon, places the point of a drawn sword to her heart.[4] The crucified Jesus speaks the "Seven Words"[5]—*i.e.* pardon

[1] **E**, p. 232; **S**, p. 150. [2] **C**, p. 181. [3] **E**, p. 240; **F**, p. 238, etc.

[4] Compare Luke chap. ii. 35; *Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. xii. 5; *Das alte Passional*, p. 75. See **C**, p. 203; **I**, p. 159 (John hands the Virgin a sword); **L**, vol. ii. p. 264 ('Simeonis grimmec swert'); **F**, p. 264; **K**, p. 60; **B**, vol. i. pp. 175, 187, 199, 235, vol. ii. p. 313. This sword is a favourite bit of mediæval symbolism. Among Scheifelin's cuts to Schönsperger's *Via Felicitatis* of 1513 we have one of the Mater dolorosa with *five* swords radiating halo-fashion from her head. In the Konstanz *Biblia Pauperum* the Virgin stands at the foot of the Cross with a sword in her breast. In one of the E.E.T.S. *Legends of the Holy Rood* (p. 142) the sword springs from the cross. The Virgin with a sword in her breast occurs in a woodcut (fol. 204 reverse) of the *Hortulus Animae* (German version, Dillingen, 1560?). On the title-page of a rare book—*Michaelis Francisci de Insulis Quodlibetica decisio . . . de septem doloribus . . . Virginis Mariae*, Schratenthal, 1501—the Virgin is represented with her heart pierced by seven swords—the 'Seven Sorrows.' The same seven swords occur also in a picture in the Augsburg Gallery of about 1600 (No. 83), and often elsewhere. They are part of the mediæval custom of representing by symbolism what the untrained actor or early artist could not render by the expression of facial emotion. In John Parfre's play of Candlemas-Day we read (Marriott, p. 218):—

> Of blissid Mary how she shall suffre peyn,
> Whan hir swete sone shall on a rood deye,
> A sharpe swurde of sorrow shall cleve hir hert atweyn.

[5] "And so men þat marken þe gospel seien þat Crist spake sevene wordis, þe while he hyng on þe cros, to greet witt and mannis profit" (*Select English Works of Wyclif*, Arnold, vol. ii. p. 128). There are special prayers for the Seven Last Words in the *Hortulus Animae* (attributed to Bede), the *Hertzmaner* (Casper Hochfeder, Nürnberg, *circa* 1480), and in a fifteenth-century manuscript (*Gebetsammlung*) in the author's possession, which has prayers also for 'de vii bespottungen.' For a full appreciation of these words and their meaning for mediæval thought see the *Schatzbehalter*, Nürnberg, 1491, fol. I. ii. reverse *et seq.*

for his torturers, salvation for the penitent thief, provision for his mother, the *Eli lama sabachthani*, the statement of thirst, the accomplishment, and the commendation of his spirit. Each word is followed by the scoffing of the bystanders ("Die 7 Spottreder"), and thus the brutality of the Jews is preserved to the last. With the Seventh Word a white dove is to be set free, and Satan, sent by Lucifer, comes to fetch Christ's soul. An angel meets him with a drawn sword, and Satan flies back to hell in consternation. In one play Satan goes with a net to fish for the soul, and Gabriel and he "ascend the ladder together," where, however, the Devil is discomfited. Here again we see the same confusion of motive in the conduct of the devils as I have previously drawn attention to (see pp. 358, 377, 383). Then the veil of the Temple—a curtain hanging from two columns—is rent, four dead men arise from their graves,[1] the moon and stars speak to Christ,[2] and guns are fired for thunder. "Verily," exclaims the centurion, "this was the Christ."[3] The fine incident with the blind Longinus is now generally introduced. Longinus had ridiculed the notion that Jesus could cure the blind, and challenged him to attempt the cure in his case. The old man comes, and—some plays say from hate, others from pity and a desire to shorten Christ's

[1] For the talk of the four dead men see T, p. 433.

[2] Probably the sun, moon, and stars were represented in the plays exactly as in pictorial art. A Paris MS., in a miniature of the crucifixion, has a tall white female figure with a crescent on her head for the moon, and a youth in red with a radiated crown for the sun. Sometimes we find two angels carrying stars, sometimes the stars are personified (see Didron, *Christian Iconography*, pp. 86, 87, and Fig. 68).

[3] See B, vol. ii. p. 324; C, pp. 197-199; F, p. 253; E, p. 247; K, p. 166; D, p. 68.

sufferings—orders his servant to place his spear upon the prophet's side. Longinus thrusts it in, and the blood and water rushing out fall upon the blind eyes and give them sight again. Longinus is afterwards found assisting at the entombment.[1] Meanwhile the limbs of the thieves are broken, and devils and angels come to fetch their apportioned souls.[2]

The begging of Christ's body from Pilate, the lowering of it from the cross by Nicodemus, Longinus, Joseph of Arimathæa, and their servants present nothing of special note. The body is usually placed in the lap of Mary seated at the foot of the cross, an incident often dealt with in mediæval painting.[3] It is then carried on a bier to the grave while the chorus chant the response, *Ecce quomodo moritur justus.*[4] Some plays show even more strongly the influence of the old Church ritual. Thus in Gundelfinger's *Entombment* we have

[1] See **B**, vol. ii. pp. 224-226, 326-327, 331 ; **F**, p. 259 ; **K**, p. 65 ; **D**, p. 70 ; perverted in Krüger's play, **H**, vol. ii. p. 66. As to how the wound was represented we may note the stage-direction, "Vulnus autem lateris et alia vulnera similiter sint prius depicta ut quasi vulnera videantur" (**S**, p. 151). A still more painfully realistic method was adopted in the recent Brixlegg passion-play. The question of the first appearance of Longinus's blindness in mediæval tradition has been raised by G. Stephens (*Studies on Northern Mythology*, 1883, p. 326, and Appendix, p. 43). I may note that Longinus is not blind in the fourth-century Χριστὸς πάσχων (ll. 1080 *et seq.*, 1212), nor in the tenth-century Homily of Ælfric (*Legends of Holy Rood*, p. 106). Not even in the thirteenth-century Passion of our Lord (*Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., p. 51) is the blindness mentioned. This may serve to illustrate how continuous was the growth of mediæval tradition.

[2] Compare two pictures by Altorfer (Augsburg Gallery, Nos. 48, 49), and another from the early Cologne School (Cologne Gallery, No. 37).

[3] The notion, the *Pietà*, is as old as the fourth-century Χριστὸς πάσχων (ll. 1295-1309). See the copper engraving of Christ in the Virgin's lap by the master E. S. about 1467, and many woodcuts. It is as much a favourite with miniaturists as painters, *e.g.* a fifteenth-century Metz MS. *Horae B. Virginis*, once in my hands, Miniature vi., etc. In sculpture we have Michael Angelo's work in St. Peter's, Rome.

[4] See **C**, p. 214 ; **E**, p. 260.

a procession consisting of the cross-bearer, four angels carrying the three nails and the crown of thorns, four angels with candles, Joseph and Nicodemus with two servants bearing the body, four more angels with candles, the Virgin with John, then the three Maries, and lastly two servants with ointment.[1] Such a procession approaches in content those of the Easter rituals.

From this epoch in the plays we have even a greater fulness of incident and a wider range of material to select from than before, since now the numerous Resurrection-dramas and Easter-plays come to our assistance with endless variety of detail. The main thread running throughout them all, however, is the Church ritual as it is developed in the Tours Mystery (p. 302).

The Jews obtain Pilate's authority to set watchers at the tomb, and the four "knights" set out on their mission dancing and singing. The grotesque-comic of their valiant language is really not so inappropriate as it at first appears. If this man Jesus comes to life again may their hair turn golden; should the disciples come near the grave they shall forfeit their lives; the watchers set no limit to their own prowess, they will stand up against hundreds till they wade in a very sea of blood. Even their names—Dietrich, Hildebrant, Isengrim, and Laurein[2]—are those of invincible Teutonic heroes. And what happens when they come to the grave? They fortify

[1] See **B**, vol. ii. p. 141. Mater Maria is distinguished from Maria Jacobi, Maria Salome, and Maria Magdalena. The *Sepulto Domino* of the old scenic ritual is also frequently sung (see **S**, p. 152, etc.)

[2] See especially the *Ludus Judeorum circa Sepulchrum*, **I**, p. 125; **F**, p. 280; **D**, p. 78; **K**, p. 183; **B**, vol. ii. pp. 36-41, 339; **L**, vol. ii. p. 301; and *La Résurrection du Sauveur*, Jubinal, Paris, 1834; *Townley Mysteries*, p. 259; also the Χριστὸς πάσχων, l. 1900.

themselves with wine, and either drop off to sleep one after the other,[1] or, Gabriel appearing, collapse in terror at his chant:—

Recedete, recidite
infideles, cedite!

Not infrequently the three archangels come to the tomb —Michael with a drawn sword, Gabriel with a candle, and Raphael with a banner.[2] *Exurge, quare obdormis, domine! Adjuva nos et libera nos!* they cry, and Jesus, arising, takes the banner from Raphael and sings, *Ego dormivi & Resurrexi.*[3] These chants are usually

[1] Before the thirteenth century all the soldiers remained asleep during the Resurrection; then it appears to have been thought desirable that there should be witnesses, and so some remained awake (see Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie chrétienne*, p. 200). Compare, however, Hefner-Alteneck, *Trachten des Mittelalters*, plates 12, 4, 5 (before 1220 all asleep), 3 (about 1250 all awake), 84, 88. In Pfalzgraf Otto Heinrich's Bible at Gotha (fol. 43) two are asleep and two are awake. Dürer in his *Greater Passion* has some asleep and some awake. In Cranach's *Passion* (Schuchardt, p. 205, No. 14), all five are asleep. In the *Coventry Mysteries* (p. 343) all fall asleep. Note, however, Jack Snacker of Wytney (p. 417) who kept awake.

[2] Otherwise Raphael appears as a priest, Gabriel as a herald with a wand, and Michael as a warrior (see Didron, p. 282). Among the list of relics given by King Athelstan to the monastery of Exeter we read *De candela quam Angelus domini in sepulchro Christi irradiavit* (see Warren, *Leofric Missal*, p. 4). The Resurrection was usually acted with great solemnity. Thus in the Frankfurt Play (**S**, p. 152) we read that in order "ut resurrectio Domini gloriosius celebraretur" it may be deferred to the beginning of the second day's play—the Frankfurt was at that time a two days' play—that then the 'Dominica persona' shall be clothed in "vestibus triumphalibus, videlicet subtili et dalmatico casulaque *rubea* circumdatus, habens coronam cum dyademate in capite et crucem cum vexilla in manu sua." In this play, as in the *Oberammergauer* (**D**, pp. 81-91), the Descent into Hell precedes the Resurrection, an unusual order, although that of the Apostles' Creed.

[3] Besides my earlier references to representations of Christ with the resurrection-banner (see p. 310), I may also cite the *Schatzbehalter*, Fig. 77; Hans Holbein's title-page to Coverdale's Bible, 1535; and a *Resurrection* by the Elder Holbein (Munich, Pinakothek, No. 20). A distinction must always be made between the cross of the Passion and the banner-cross of the Resurrection (see Didron, *Christian Iconography*, p. 385). The cross of the Resurrection was and is usually carried in religious processions; that of the Passion is suspended over altars, etc. In Gerard David's *Fight of St. Michael with Hell* it is Michael who bears the cross of the resurrection.

followed in the greater passion-plays by German translations and expansions, but their presence suffices to indicate that the ultimate source of the scene is to be found in Church ritual.[1]

The Descent into Hell follows instead of precedes the Resurrection, probably to avoid the difficulty of the return to the sepulchre. This hell-scene usually opens with growing excitement among the patriarchs and prophets. They feel sure something is going to happen but do not know what.[2] Lucifer is much alarmed at their restlessness, and by the failure of Satan to bring back Christ's soul (p. 388). Happa or Puck[3] announces the approach of a 'Wildenaere,' who 'looks as if the world belonged to him.' Satan demands who this man in a *red* coat[4] may be. Lucifer screams with fear. The bolts of hell-gate are drawn; the devils hasten to fetch their fire-forks, and on every side diabolic rage and consternation is depicted mingled with the broadest farce. As in the Church ritual[5] (see p. 296), the angels sing *Tollite portas*, etc., and Lucifer replies with the corresponding *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* The gate of hell is burst open, and the utmost confusion prevails as the

[1] Compare the rituals of the *Elevatio crucis* given (**G**, pp. 123, 135) with **I**, p. 139; **A**, p. 114; and **F**, p. 282.

[2] *Gospel of Nicodemus*, chap. xiv. *et seq.* Compare *The Devil's Parliament*, Furnival, *Hymns to Virgin and Christ*, E.E.T.S., p. 49.

[3] In the *Townley Mysteries*, *Extractio Animarum*, this demon is called Rybald.

[4] The robe of the resurrection was always red (*e.g.* **S**, p. 152). Compare for example the thirteenth-century *Descent into Hell* in the Cologne Gallery (No. 38), and the painted woodcuts of the *Schatzbehalter*, 1491, Fig. 78.

[5] There are traces of this ritual in the resurrection-play printed by Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. pp. 332 *et seq.* Here, instead of the *Jesu nostra redemptio*, the *Veni Creator spiritus* is sung by the departing patriarchs. See also *Townley Mysteries*, p. 246, for the *Attolite portas*, etc.

devils run screaming hither and thither. Christ lays chains upon Lucifer.[1] Adam and Eve greet their Saviour with joy, and the procession of patriarchs and prophets being formed, it departs singing *Jesu, nostra redemptio.*[2] Several comic incidents are introduced. A poor scholar, who instead of going to mass had lain about on the school-benches, expresses his joy at deliverance. Several damned souls appeal in vain for mercy; they are pitchforked back into hell by the devils. Satan tries to retain one of the saved souls,—generally John the Baptist, because no one could desire to save so meanly clad a man,—but he meets, as usual, with discomfiture. When Christ has departed, and the devils have recovered their presence of mind, they take counsel as to the restocking of hell, and then follow the soul-lists and the dance of devils to which I have referred above (p. 340).[3] On a par with the defeat of the devils is

[1] Besides the passion-play references to the chaining of Lucifer, we may note the miniatures of the *Cædmon Codex*, reproduced with much other information by G. Stephens in his *Northern Mythology*, 1883, pp. 333 *et seq.*, 338, 384, etc. See also *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E.E.T.S., p. 5; *Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., p. 67; Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. p. 294; *Townley Mysteries*, pp. 251, 252 ("Nay, tratur, thou shall won in wo, And tille a stake I shall the bynde"). St. Michael's chaining and locking up the Devil will be found in Albrecht Dürer's *Apocalypse;* in Scheifelin's cuts to Schönsperger's reproduction in 1523 of Luther's New Testament, etc. The binding of the Devil and his supposed loosing after a thousand years are, slight as they may seem, the keys to much of mediæval thought. The *solutio diaboli* occurred about the twelfth century, and was notably the basis of Wyclif's attack on Rome. "Bifore the fend was losid" all went well; *post solutionem Sathanae* all heresies had arisen (see *Trialogus*, ed. Lechler, pp. 153, 249; *Select Works*, ed. Arnold, vol. i. p. 153, and vol. iii. p. 502). The notion was of course adopted by Hus. "Post millenarium soluto Satana," he writes in his *De Ecclesia*, cap. xxiii. p. 221, ed. 1520.

[2] There is a characteristic representation of this procession in the *Schatzbehalter*, Fig. 79. All the redeemed are nude, as appears to have been the case on the passion-play stage: see p. 330.

[3] See **B**, vol. ii. pp. 42-57; **H**, vol. ii. p. 68; **A**, p. 116; **F**, pp. 286-293; **C**, pp. 222-230; **L**, vol. ii. p. 303; **D**, pp. 81-91; **I**, p. 141.

the confusion of the 'knights' at the sepulchre. They awake to find the tomb open, and, accusing each other of having fallen asleep, come to blows. Running to announce the news to Caiaphas, they are mocked by his wife, or cudgelled by the indignant Jews. Sometimes, having been witnesses of the resurrection, they declare themselves believers in Christ. Ultimately, however, they are bribed to hold their tongues, or to swear that the disciples stole the body.[1]

We have now reached the portion of the play which corresponds to the Easter ritual of the three Maries (p. 299), but the germs of the humorous, which we noted even in the Church plays, have now developed into the broadest farce. The medicine-man comes proclaiming his own merits and his want of a servant. Rubin, a scamp of the same stamp, obtains the post, but he hires in his turn the devil 'Lasterbalk' as an understrapper to carry the quack's pack. The action proceeds with the coarsest folk-humour, mingled with cudgelling and love-making, for the medicine-man has a wife and she has a maid. Rubin alternately cries the merits of his master's goods and the knavery of his master. The three Maries are attracted by his cries and come to buy spices. The medicine-man determines to swindle them; his wife thinks he has not charged them enough (or has charged them too much), and this leads to blows and a drubbing for the lady. She declares she will be revenged, and after the departure of the Maries, while the medicine-man is dozing, she elopes with his knave Rubin. The

[1] See **B**, vol. ii. p. 346; **A**, p. 116; **D**, p. 156; **L**, vol. ii. p. 312, etc.; Jubinal, *La Résurrection du Sauveur*, Paris, 1834, pp. 16-18; Χριστὸς πάσχων ll. 2270 *et seq.*

coarseness of both language and action can frequently only be paralleled from the unrestrained license of the fifteenth-century carnival-plays. In striking incongruity with it all are the Latin verses of the Church ritual still retained for the three Maries' parts.[1] The key to this mixture of the grotesque and sacred must not only be sought in a reaction following on the strain of the crucifixion scenes, but also in the influence of the strolling scholars to which we have referred above (p. 304). Their brilliant, but often ribald, songs did not hesitate to parody the events and language of Scripture.[2] When once the scholars had inserted the thin end of the wedge, the folk were but too delighted to drive it home.

The visit of the three Maries to the sepulchre follows closely the old Church ritual, the Latin responses being translated and expanded.[3] The scene with the gardener has, however, been developed in a curious direction. The *Hortulanus* reproaches the women with being out at such an early hour in the garden, it is not proper for them to be out alone; besides which, they are treading down his grass and flowers! The recognition takes place as in the Easter ritual.[4] Then Mary the Magdalen

[1] See **L**, vol. ii. p. 313; **C**, p. 236; **I**, p. 39; **A**, p. 123; **S**, pp. 153-155.

[2] It is not only a parody of ecclesiastics and their doings, but also of matters very sacred in those days; see, for example, the *Officium Lusorum*, which, with many other ribald verses, occurs in the *Carmina Burana* alongside religious dramas and poems.

[3] Thus in *La Passion de nostre Seigneur* (*Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. pp. 296-303) the Magdalen sings the *Jesu redemptor omnium*, and the *Beata nobis gaudia* (Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, No. 183). There are also traces of the *Dic nobis Maria* of the ritual (p. 309). The *mercator* (*l'espicier*) is in this French play very polite, and the only touch of humour is a somewhat lengthy list which he gives of his drugs (pp. 300, 301). The mediæval treatment of the visit to the sepulchre may be profitably compared with that of the Χριστὸς πάσχων (ll. 1941-2125).

[4] See **F**, p. 309; **I**, p. 76; **A**, p. 140; **C**, p. 244.

meets John and Peter and we have, if not the whole, at least the last strophe of the Easter sequence *Victimae paschali.*[1] The two disciples are not to be convinced, and wax derisive. They determine, however, to investigate the matter for themselves. John bets a pair of new shoes, Peter a sword, that he will arrive first at the sepulchre; or it may be that the wager is a horse against a cow. Peter trips up on the way, grows angry, quarrels with John, and curses the manner in which he has been created, which prevents him from running like an ordinary mortal. If he has to limp after John, at least he can drink better, and he takes a pull at the flask, which John noticing cries out:—

> Ach Petri das stet nit wol
> Du weist wol das ich auch trincken sol.[2]

Arrived at the tomb, they return exhibiting the burial linen. Then follow the appearances of Christ to his disciples,[3] the incident of the unbelieving Thomas, and

[1] The *Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via* (Kehrein, *Lateinische Sequenzen*, No. 83). Compare Jubinal, *Mystères inédits*, vol. ii. p. 364.

[2] **F**, pp. 317-319; **I**, p. 87; **L**, vol. ii. p. 334; **S**, p. 156. In Stubbes' *Anatomie*, cited by Furnival (*Digby Plays*, p. x.), we read:—

> In some place solemne sights and showes, and pageants fayre are played,
> . . . . .
> As where the Maries three do meete the sepulchre to see,
> And John with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee.

[3] See **C**, p. 246, etc., and compare Χριστὸς πάσχων, l. 2504. Sometimes the apostles at this stage compose the Creed, each a sentence (see **F**, p. 149; **A**, p. 25; and compare King's *History of the Apostles' Creed*, p. 26). As I have before noted (p. 379), the subject was a favourite one. The twelve apostles are sculptured, each with his portion of the Creed, in the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier (fourteenth century). There is a block-book representation, the words in French at Paris, and another at Munich with the words in German. In the latter each apostle is accompanied by a prophet, and both have a scene representing the particular item of belief associated with the apostle placed above them. The whole block-book bears considerable resemblance to a *Biblia Pauperum* (see p. 265). A different mode of exhibiting the matter is

possibly the Ascension,[1] the sending of the Holy Ghost, the Death and the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Day of Judgment.[2] Finally the *Conclusor* would point the moral of the whole play, and draw attention to the complete triumph of Christ. Then, with the hymn of the Resurrection, *Christ ist erstanden!* in which all the spectators joined, the three days' drama would be brought to its conclusion. Such is the great folk passion-play of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

IX.—*Summary and Conclusion*

The reader who has followed the author through at least a portion of the mass of detail with which the Middle Ages enriched the gospel story, will be, even if he has made no further studies, in a position to appreciate fairly mediæval life and feeling. He will realise that more may be gained from the religious dramas than amusement at their naïveté. As we do not merely smile at the stories of the Greek gods, but study their

adopted in the *Schatzbehalter* (fol. viii.) The twelve apostles are each given a joint of the fingers of a left hand, while Christ and the Virgin occupy the thumb. Down the side of the woodcut the Creed is divided among the apostles. Compare also fol. S. vi. In the *Coventry Mysteries* (Descent of the Holy Ghost) there is a curious identification of each apostle with a different character or virtue.

[1] A curious stage-direction for the Ascension occurs in the Frankfurt play (**S**, p. 157): "dominica persona precedat discipulos et veniens ad paradysum accepto vexillo sumat animas et dirigat viam versus locum ubi volet ascendere. Animae vero indutis vestibus albis sequantur Dominum cantantes: *Summi triumphi re*, usque veniant ad gradus ubi debent ascendere. Sit autem thronus ubi Majestas sedeat excellens et altus satis et tantae latitudinis ut animas comode possit capere, Habens etiam gradus quibus comode talis altitudo scandatur."

[2] See **C**, pp. 248-253; **H**, vol. ii. pp. 106-115. Often as separate plays, see **B**, vol. i. pp. 254, 273.

evolution and their legends in order to appreciate a great literature, a greater philosophy, and the highest development of plastic art, so we must study the mediæval gods even in their smallest details, if we would master the spirit of another great literature, another great philosophy, and the highest development of pictorial art the world has known. Nay, if the Hellenist smiles at you, reader, say boldly that you will set your Dante against his Homer, that St. Thomas was not more arid than his Aristotle, that your Zeitblom and Dürer were as great creative artists as his Praxiteles and Pheidias; nay, that he who built the Parthenon would have stood speechless and as a little child before the minster at Strasburg, or the cathedral at Cologne. Take that Hellenist through the streets and courtyards of Nürnberg or Augsburg, and give back to them the colour and incident of the folk-life of 500 years ago,—and if he be an artist by nature, he will hesitate to give the palm to Periclean Athens, even if the sigh of her slaves has not caught his ear. He will find the same religious folk-festivals, the processions, the music, the song, and the dance. He will find art in the service of the people, at the street corners, in the religious buildings, at the altars of the gods, in the civic buildings, the assembly halls, the market, the meeting and dance-places of the guilds. He will mark joyous marriage-feasts, and the bride led with torches through the streets; there will be maidens with fine raiment, and youths in brightly-woven doublets with daggers hanging from their girdles, wrought in wondrous fashion by never-surpassed metal-workers;

ἔνθα μὲν ἡίθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ὠρχεῦντ', ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες.

There, too, he will see priests in gorgeous apparel leading with choral song the procession, which bears marvellously-wrought caskets and delicately-woven pictures worth a king's ransom. He will observe that the Ecclesia and the Agora have new meanings, but are none the less centres of as intense and picturesque a folk-life as they ever were in Athens. He may hear the clash of arms, and see the men, 'goodly and great in their armour,' standing on the city walls to defend wife and child and home. Or he may be jostled by the crowd as it hastens in holiday garb and humour to see its great drama performed on the wooden scaffolding, such as Æschylus himself had used; and he will note that the gods are there on the stage as they were among the Greeks, and that neither folk will hesitate to laugh at the expense of its deities. Nay, if the Hellenist stays to examine further, he will find the same minute traditions concerning each religious and social custom; he will find each action of civic, of economic, and of religious life regulated with the same surprising detail that he has already marvelled at and gloried in when he studied the art and social life of Greece. Then he will begin to realise that he is watching the development of two closely-allied races, with somewhat different environments, it is true, but none the less with the same fundamental folk-instincts, namely, to make religion and art go hand-in-hand, and both of them heritages of the people. It matters not whether the art be Doric or Gothic, be sculpture or painting, be passion-play or

Dionysian tragedy; it is not of significance whether the religion be that of Olympia and Hades, or of the mediæval Heaven and Hell. The outward forms have indeed changed, but the inner spirit is the same. In both cases an immortal art was evolved by the inspiration of a great popular religion; and those who term the Middle Ages 'dark ages,' only demonstrate that in their ignorance they are neglecting as great a factor of culture as Hellenism itself. They are thrusting aside in blind prejudice a large portion of the birthright which man of the centuries past has won for man of the centuries to come. That the Renascence should have taught men to understand Greek thought was wholly gain, that it should have caused them to depise the Middle Ages was wholly loss. We, to-day, have surely confidence enough in our emancipation from superstition to strive to appreciate both.[1] We are no more likely to worship again the gods of the Middle Ages, than to worship the gods of Greece.

The science of comparative religion has a task beyond that of comparing the various religious institutions which have arisen among different races subject to different environments. It has to deal with the changing characters of the same religion as the people who profess it develop; it has to deal with the same religion as it is differently moulded by different races. This is not merely a study of churches, of councils, and

[1] Why should the schoolboy of to-day know the terms for all parts of the Homeric ship, but be ignorant of those for the parts of a Gothic cathedral? Why should a statue of Athene be enriched by his knowledge of the details of her worship, but a picture of the Virgin be unhallowed by a knowledge of the poetry of her processions, offices, and hymns?

of theological dogmas. For the student of comparative religion there is more useful material in the *Zeitglocklin*, or in Geiler von Kaisersberg's sermons, than in all the protocols and confessions of Worms, Speyer, and Augsburg taken together. The main problems which need investigation are: What was the view of religion held at any time by the great masses of the people? and: How did the religious conceptions of the people influence their social and civic life? The Christianity of the ninth-century Saxon, as represented in the *Heliand*, is wholly different in spirit from the Christianity of the mediæval burgher, as represented in a great folk passion-play, and their religions influenced their lives in a wholly different way. The passage from the one to the other marks the spiritual growth of the Germanic race, and no small light is thrown on the history of that growth by the genesis and evolution of the religious drama.

The missionaries brought their religion and sought to force it on the German people; they branded as devilish all the old heathen festivals, the religious dances and the ancient marriage rites, thus unwittingly creating all the deep mediæval feeling as to witchcraft. But the folk-spirit was not to be thus repressed; it danced into the churches; it took Christianity out of the hands of the priests; it moulded it to its own ideas, and shaped it to that wonderful artistic polytheism of which the nominal founder never dreamed, and which would have been sternly repudiated by the early Christian teachers.[1] The passion-plays would be singularly

[1] Some few Buddhist ascetics in Ceylon may still hold the faith of their great teacher, but Gautama would not recognise his own child in the folk-religions of Siam and Burmah.

instructive if their study taught us this one fact only, namely, that the evolution of religion depends on the tendencies of the great masses of the people; their aspirations, their needs, their education determine its course, which is only in a very slight degree guided or checked by the influence of a sacerdotal caste.

There is another striking lesson, however, to be learnt from a study of Mediævalism, a lesson which it shares with Hellenism. If religion is to give birth to a great art and to be a centre of social and civic enthusiasm, it must be a religion of festival, of great folk-gatherings, of ceremonial ritual, of the drama, and if possible of song and dance.[1] The religious festival brings all classes of the community together on a common ground; it unites for a time high and low in the same pleasure; and the feelings of fellowship and of identity of pursuits, so necessary for the permanency of any social group, are thereby materially strengthened. The religious drama of the Middle Ages was an outcome of mediæval religious and civic socialism, and with the growth of theological and economic individualism it necessarily decayed. When the passion-plays were employed as instruments of controversial theology; when the monk appeared on the stage in order to be dragged off to hell, and little children came to Christ prattling of the true gospel of Wittenberg and of the Antichrist at Rome, then these plays became sources of social discord, and not the

[1] Herein at once lies the justification and the futility of the great festivals of humanity proposed by Comte. They are justified, because every religion needs folk-festivals; they are futile, because they are the artifice of a priest, and not a natural product of an individual people.

occasion of true folk-holidays.[1] Then it was time for good and evil to be swept away together, and the people ceased to have any genuine religious festivals.

But there is something more to be learnt from these plays than sympathy with one of the world's great art-epochs, or than the social value of a communal holiday. I refer to their educative influence on the craftsman. If a man has once realised that he is not working solely for bread and butter, but that he is an essential part of the social machine, which would stand still without him, then he has received not only the best education in self-respect, but also in the dignity of his own labour. I cannot now enter upon the consideration of what a vast influence for good the system of guilds exercised so long as the old religious socialistic spirit was the chief factor in its organisation,—until, indeed, the growth of religious and economic individualism converted what remained of them after the Reformation into craft monopolies under the control of a limited number of families. Was a fire to be put out, the wall of the town to be defended,

[1] Besides the mass of anti-Roman Catholic sixteenth-century plays in Germany of which those of Bartholomäus Krüger, and Nicholas Manuel may be taken as a type, I may refer to John Bale's *Brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Johan Baptystes preachynge in the wyldernesse, openynge the craftye assaultes of the hypocrytes, with the gloryouse Baptysme of the Lorde Jesus Christ*, 1538. The hypocrites are of course popish priests, the Pharisees and Sadducees represent papists, and the whole epilogue is directed against the Catholics. John Bale's *A Tragedy . . . manyfesting the chefe promyses of God unto man . . .*, 1538, exhibits the same polemic in the epilogue. Even Edward VI. is reputed to have written a comedy entitled *The Whore of Babylon*. As a sample of polemic from the other side I may mention the Seebrucker Play *Der lustige Jud von Amsteldam*. Here the Jew bids the Pastor march to Munich and pay for the sausages Martin Luther and his Katie have devoured in hell (**B**, p. 142). There is a story that Luther once forgot at Munich to pay the 'Koch in der Höll' for a sausage he had eaten there. Hone (*Ancient Mysteries*, pp. 225-227) gives the names of a number of English controversial religious plays.

a church to be restored or a side-chapel built, was a pageant to be held or a passion-play acted, then the craft-guilds and the journeymen brotherhoods were always to the fore. In many cases the craftsmen and journeymen were members of the civic body in virtue of their craft—because they belonged to craft-guild or brotherhood. The artisan of those days could spend his holiday not only in amusing himself, but in giving pleasure to the community at large. The passion-play may seem to some modern tastes a very crude drama, but in those days rich and poor, literate and illiterate, great and small, man, woman and child flocked to the market-place to enjoy the representation of the great world-drama which the craftsmen put before them. The members of the guilds realised that they were needful parts of the social system; the artisan was conscious of his position and proud of it. Are there any labour organisations nowadays which are equally rich in result for the workman, and equally profitable to the community? When do our craftsmen spend their leisure in providing amusement for a whole town? Where is the folk-festival, religious or social, which brings all sorts and conditions of men together in the pursuit of a common pleasure? I fear our modern life knows nothing of these things.

Individualism, economic and intellectual, has greatly assisted the mental and possibly the material progress of Europe, but it has widened immensely the gulf between the various social grades. They no longer have the same pleasures; they have hardly a common religion; they have no understanding for the same art, and are scarcely

able to read the same books. The thought and the education of the mediæval craftsmen were not widely diverse from those of other social groups. Albrecht Dürer was a craftsman, and his wife sold his woodcuts on the market-place. Ambrose Holbein and probably his greater brother were members of the "Zunft zum Himmel," a guild containing the painters, glaziers, saddlers, and barbers of Basel.[1] Luther and his opponent Eck were both peasants' sons. Yet these men were able to grasp the thought and feeling of their day, while they remained essentially of their own class. None of their contemporaries thought of referring to them as exceptions who had 'risen from the ranks' to be leaders of men. If the old socialistic mediæval system with its guilds of craftsmen made social life more homogeneous, we may perhaps hesitate to approve of the spirit of the Reformers, who, finding them centres of Catholic superstition, did much to weaken or destroy what they should rather have reformed.[2] As in the case of the monasteries, the guild funds too often dropped into the private purse of prince or noble. With the actors went the drama, of which it has been well written that—

> Such an age as ours will not understand the good which in a moral and social point of view was bestowed upon this country by the religious pageants, and pious plays and interludes of a bygone epoch. Through such means, however, not only were the working-classes furnished with a needful relaxation, but their very merry-makings instructed while they diverted them.[3]

[1] That the greatest painters of the Middle Ages were looked upon as craftsmen is well shown by the letters of Erasmus (see Woltmann's *Holbein*, p. 317).

[2] Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, Introduction, p. xc.

[3] Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, vol. ii. p. 418.

These lines are even truer of Germany than of England, and at least in Germany the religious pageants and plays 'instructed' an unsurpassed school of painters and engravers.

Is the moral of this Essay, then, a Restoration—a resuscitation of the guilds and a return to the religious faith of the Middle Ages? Assuredly not. The people in each age must work out its own salvation. No preachers nor teachers can renew the vitality of a dead art, a dead religion, or a dead economic system. The folk must create anew for itself, and the best that the cultured men of each age can do is to lighten the throes of birth. They may put the dumb folk-thought into words, and give artistic expression to the new folk-ideals. They may help to guide new labour organisations to a sense of their social responsibility; they may assist in converting trades-processions into civic pageants and mass-meetings into folk-festivals. They may aid the tendencies of the time to level down in wealth and to level up in knowledge. But after all it is the folk which must rise to self-consciousness. Then perhaps it may come about that those social instincts, which are in truth more intense to-day than in Athens, Jerusalem, or Nürnberg of old, will cease to be so diverse and confused in expression as they are now; they will find one watch-word to arouse all classes of the community; then and not till then will anything worthy of the name of a folk-religion be possible, then and not till then can a great religious festival be again a reality.

APPENDIX I

THE 'MAILEHN' AND 'KILTGANG'

I HAVE pointed out (p. 24) the importance of the *Mailehn* as a fossil of the old sex-customs. An extremely interesting phase of it appears in a visitation of the diocese Speyer of the year 1683, cited by Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Bd. ii. p. 373. We read that a village called Rheinsheim had an

abusus in juventute *mit dem Lehntgen-rufen*, quod fit hoc modo. Convenit juventus utraque una cum civibus et quotquot possunt domo abesse ad ingressum in silvam, ubi duo designati duas ascendunt arbores, sibi invicem respondentes, aliis sub illis haerentibus. Fitque hoc loci pridie sancti Georgii, quando horum unus altissima voce incipit in hunc modum:

> Höret ihr burger überall
> was gebeutet euch des Königs hochwürdiger Marschall:
> was er gebeut und das soll seyn;
> Hanss Clausen soll Margrethen Lols Buhler seyn
> drey Schritt ins Korn und drey wieder heraus
> über ein Jahr gehet es ein Braut ins Haus.

Hac ratione omnibus solutis, tam viduis quam aliis suum assignant procum, et saepe non absque gravi laesione famae et causâ gravium dissidiorum, immo turpitudinum, cum procus teneatur illam curare in symposiis saltu, etc., illa suo proco offerre flores, etc.

We have clearly here a fossil of the old sex-festival—the evening gathering in the woods for the choice of temporary mates. St. George's Day is 23rd April, but the *Mailehn* in many parts occurred on 1st May. The reference to the *Königs Marschall* is hardly an original feature; it probably refers to the custom by which, in the early

Middle Ages, the Kaiser sent a herald to announce to the daughter of a burgher of one of the imperial towns that he proposed to give her in marriage to one of his retinue.

Very frequently the *Mailehn* took the form of an auction of the girls of the village, the money obtained being spent on their entertainment with food and on dance-music. It is noteworthy that at St. Goar the money itself went into the town-chest, and the auction took place in the *Rathhaus* (Kriegk, *Deutsches Bürgerthum im Mittelalter*, p. 420); it is thus clear that we are dealing with a fossil of what was once a *communal* sex-festival.

The use of the term *buhler* in the *Mailehn* verses cited above is also very suggestive. *Bühli*, *fastenbühli*, or their equivalents are used almost throughout Germany either for the May-brides or for partners chosen for the year, or at least for the great spring-festivals and for *Kirmes*. It is precisely this word, however, which we have noted as used for the old sexual group of lovers (p. 222). It is still a widely current term for a pair of dancers, and Grimm cites a most valuable bit of folklore from Holland, which brings together the primitive significance of the *Mailehn* with the old sexual group weight of both *buhl* and *frî* (see pp. 167, 222). It runs:—

> menich vroukin sprekt in schimpe
> tot enen jonghen gheckelin,
> "vrient, du moets min boelkin sin
> desen mei ende langher niet."
>
> *Wörterbuch*, ii. 506.

The *gheck*, or *sommergheck*, is equivalent to the *heelghesel* or secret lover.

As if to complete the picture of the May-brides with their temporary lovers, their common feast and dancing, the *Vergaderung* in the woods, we have also the selection of the May queen, a fossil of the old worship of the goddess of fertility. A thirteenth-century work of Aegidius (cited in Grimm's *Mythologie*, ii. p. 657) describes the custom of the May queen in the Netherlands in the twelfth century:—

> Sacerdotes ceteraeque ecclesiasticae personae cum universo populo in solemnitatibus *paschae* et pentecostes aliquam ex sacerdotum concubinis purpuratam ac diademate renitentem in eminentiori solio constitutam et cortinis velatam reginam creabant, et coram ea assistentes in choreis tympanis et aliis musicalibus instrumentis tota die psallebant, et quasi idolatrae effecti ipsam tanquam idolum colebant.

Here we see the May queen no longer as a chaste maiden, but as the "woman in scarlet seated on a high place." As representative of a Myletta—a goddess of fertility—she is worshipped by the whole populace, and her *cantica diabolica*, the *winnasonge*, for a time carry the very priests of the new faith along in the spirit of the old heathen sex-festivals.

Closely allied to the summer *Mailehn* is the *Kiltgang*. This meeting at night of the young folk of both sexes is again singularly suggestive of the old group habits. On the one side it has degenerated into the slipping of the *Bua* or *Bursch* secretly to his sweetheart's window—whence the Swiss proverb that "one does not go in wooden shoes to *kilt*"; on the other, we find the word denoting a series of festive winter gatherings in the *Spinnstube*. The *Bursch* might be received at the window favourably or unfavourably. The maid might not reply to his song or entreaties at all; she might abuse him; she might hand him bread or wine from the window, or she might admit him into her chamber. The *fenstern, gässlein gên, z'chilt gâ*, Swabian *fugen*, was certainly not such an innocent pastime as some writers have tried to persuade us. It was a visit not only to the window, but inside the chamber, and numerous mediæval police regulations and sermons show us that it was strongly disapproved of by both the civil and religious authorities. Now it is singular that the name for this night-visit should also be used for village winter meetings of maids and youths in the *Spinnstube* (*Kunkelstube, Karz*, etc.) These meetings, owing to the license which accompanied or followed them, were also looked upon with suspicion, and even subject to police supervision.[1] Thus, "welche auch ohn erlaubnis ein körz oder gunkelstuben halten bei nachtlicher weile, soll des büszen mit eim mittelfrevel" (Schmid, *Schwabisches Idioticon*, p. 220). The *Kilt* or *Kelte* is essentially a night-gathering for games, talk, and possibly work. The

[1] In *Blaubeuren* the *Lichtstuben* for both sexes were forbidden; the watchman or constable had to report them, and fines of three to four florins were imposed on all found present at one. Elsewhere the housewife was made responsible for the good behaviour of the assembly. In 1642 we find a Swabian regulation that only women shall be present, and that the meetings shall be held in respectable houses, for they had in the past been associated with places and hostesses of bad fame. In 1652 we have another ducal order forbidding the abuses known as the *Kunkelhäuser* and *Rockenstuben* altogether. Clearly their frequenters were little better than the compulsory inmates of the old university spinning-houses in England.

kilten for the season always ends with a feast, the *Kiltbraten*, and a special feature of the *Kilt* is the propounding of riddles,[1] which reminds us of the part riddles play in the *fenstern* and at marriage and sex-festivals. Very often food is brought to the *Kunkelstube*, and the young men then pay for the beer; each maid has her *Kunkelheber*, who, like the *Mai* or *Kirmes* lover, is specially attached to her for the season. At the *Kiltbraten*, or *Letze*, as it is called in the Rottenberg district, there is, besides the feast provided by a general contribution and the beer provided by the lads, a dance which lasts late into the night. It is clear that in the *Kilt* or *Kunkelstube* we have all the elements of the old *hîrat* or *mahal*, the common feast, the dance, and the sex-freedom. Were these merely an outcome of coarse peasant natures, or survivals of older social customs? I do not think there can be a doubt that we have fossils of the old endogamous group institutions. In Swabia, especially in the Ulm district, the *Kilt* was termed *Haierloss*. This word is identified with *fenstern* and *güsslein gên*, but also with the *Kiltgang* as *Kunkelstube*. The sixteenth and seventeenth century preachers were very strong against it, classing it with shameful songs, music and other devilish pastimes. Now in M.H.G. *heierleis*, *heierles* is a *choral* dance. It appears as *heigertanz* in Geiler von Kaisersberg's sermons, where we find that the performers take hands as in a country dance. Now I have no hesitation in connecting this word with the root *hî* or *hig* (p. 127). It certainly did not arise, as Lexer (*Wörterbuch*, i. 1210) supposes, from the cries of *heia!* How, in that case, explain the form *heig?* No, we have here simply the old choral dance of the sex-festival, the *hileih* (pp. 132, 133) over again, the *los* or *leis* being only the *lais* form of *leich*.

If we once grasp this relationship of the *Kunkelstuben* to the old *hileih*, the numerous police regulations against them become intelligible;[2] we then understand why the Pfarrer of Depshofen reported in 1625 the great immorality among the young people at the *Gungelhäuser* held at night; why the Pfarrer Gaisser in his

[1] One *Kiltfrage* runs: "What is the difference between a dear soul and a poor soul (*Liebenseele* and *Armenseele*)?" *i.e.* between a sweetheart and the soul of the dead. "With the former one puts the candles out, for the latter one lights them."

[2] For very full information on this and other points, see Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, 1862, Bd. ii. pp. 431 *et seq.*, and *Aus Schwaben*, *Neue Sammlung*, 1874, Bd. ii. pp. 356 *et seq.*

Noah's Ark of 1693 speaks of the "Tänzen und andern Kunkelstuben" destroying all Christian integrity, and condemns their improper tales, songs and ribald actions; why indeed an old devotional book of about 1750 tells us that no maids of good character frequent them, for the talk is *unkeusch*, the dancing *frech*, and the singing consists of *Buhllieder*—a reminiscence, indeed, of the *winileod*, which had troubled the Christian teachers nearly a thousand years before! The same book tells us that many *Kunkelstuben* can hardly be distinguished from *Hexenzusammenkunfften*, and that in judicial proceedings women and maids have frequently confessed that it was in the *Kunkelstuben* that they were made witches. We have, in fact, the full identification of the old *hîleih*, the *Hexenmahl* and the *Kilt*,—one and all are fossils of the old sex-festival. The ribald dances of the *Kunkelstube* are not merely an outburst of coarse peasant natures, they are a fossil of the worship of the old goddess of fertility.

As if to complete the round of feast, choral-dance, sex-festival, judicial assembly, we find the *Kunkelstube* identified in the devotional work just referred to with the *Heimgarten*. The *Heimgarten gehen* is exactly equivalent to the *Kiltgang* in its double sense of the private rendezvous and the gathering of maids and youths in the *Kunkelstube* or *Hochstube*.[1] In a confessional book of 1693, quoted by Birlinger, the penitent says, "Ich habe gebult, ich hab *gehôstubet*, ich hab *gehaimgartet*, ich bin zu einem Mägdlein gangen." We find, in 1618, *Haimgarten* glossed *conventiculum amicorum seu vicinorum*, and in police orders it is identified with *Kunkelstube*. The priests describe going to dances and *Heimgarten* as snares of the devil.

Now in a gloss to Prudentius given by Graff (*Diutiska*, Bd. ii. p. 347), we find *foro*, *heimgart*, and there can be little doubt that the original sense of the word is hedged-in or fenced place, the *hag* (p. 128). It is just such a fenced-in place that we have seen was the scene of the primitive judicial assembly, and the origin of *forum*, *agora* and *mahal*. But just as in the latter cases we have seen a relation to the sex-gathering, so we find *gart* glossed both *chorus* and *lenocinium*, while *Hayngarten* is dance, conventicle, *Kunkelstube*, and also the site of the judicial gathering. The *Haingarten* was the fenced place of the imperial tribunal at Rotweil, and the last *Hofgericht* was

[1] See *inter alia* the *Kundl Dorfordnung* in *Die tirolischen Weisthümer*, Bd. ii. pp. 361, 362.

held in the *Haingarten* in 1784. The court, according to the *Zimmersche Chronik* (ed. Barack, Bd. ii. p. 306), was held under a linden tree, and the *Lindengart*, wherein the *Hofgericht* was always opened and ended, was termed the *Haimgarten*. The reader who remembers the dance of the Landvogt under the linden tree (p. 155 ftn.), the peasant dances under the linden, the betrothal kiss under the linden (p. 84), the *gart* as *chorus* and *lenocinium*, will be prepared to see in the *Haingarten* the site of the old sex-festival, developing on the one hand into peasant customs, and on the other into judicial ceremonies. The *Kiltgang* and *Haingarten* are but other phases of the same ideas as we have found associated with *hlleih*, *mahal*, and *Hexensabbath*.

The philological connection of *Kilt* with A.S. *cveld*, O.N. *kveld*, Danish *kvœld*, evening, seems to me by no means so definite and clear as some writers hold. The references in which *Kilt* can be taken as simply denoting eveningtide are very hard to find; they can equally well be referred to the *Spinnstube* or the night-visit. The evening gathering may itself have introduced the notion of evening into *Kilt*. The one strong point on the other side is the appearance of the word *chwiltiwerch* in a document of 817. It runs:—

> Ut servi et ancillae conjugati et in mansis manentes tributa et vehenda et *opera* vel texturas seu functiones quaslibet dimidia faciunt, excepto aratura; puellae vero infra salam manentes tres opus ad vestrum et tres sibi faciant dies, et hoc, quod alamanni *chwiltiwerch* dicunt, non faciant.

This might well denote an early prohibition of night spinning, which we have seen associated with the *Kilt* meetings—even the witch takes her distaff to the bacchanalian *Hexenmahl*—it does not seem to me to necessarily connect *Kilt* with *cveld*. Remembering the probable sense of womb in *wîf* and of gathering in *þing*, we may possibly identify the *Kiltgang* with the *wîfþing*, and both ultimately with the *Hexen*, or wood-women, going with their distaves and spindles to the *Hexenmahl*. In this case the primitive value of *Kilt* must be sought in Gothic *kilþei*, the womb, Swedish dialect *kilta*, Icelandic *kelta*, the lap, and Lithuanian *kiltis*, kin, race (*kunni*). The *Kiltgang* would thus, in philology as well as in folklore, be the *Vergaderung*.

APPENDIX II

ENGLISH SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH-PLAYS

THERE is probably much still to be gleaned concerning the religious drama in England even as late as the sixteenth century. The chief sources of information will be the churchwardens' accounts in rural parishes. As illustration of this, I print in this appendix most interesting entries from the accounts for two small Essex towns, copies of which I owe to the courtesy of Mrs. Sydney Courtauld, of Bocking Place, Braintree, and Mr. Fred. Chancellor, Mayor of Chelmsford.

A. *Extracts from a copy of the Accounts of the Church of St. Michael, Braintree.*

Anno 1523. A Play of S^{t} Swythyn, acted in the Church on a Wednesday, for which was gathered 6 : 14 : 11½ ; P^{d} at the said Play, 3 : 1 : 4 ; due to the Church, 3 : 13 : 7½.

Anno 1525. There was a Play of S^{t} Andrew acted in the Church the Sunday before Relique Sunday ; Rc^{d}, 8 : 9 : 6 ; P^{d}, 4 : 9 : 9 ; Due to the

P. 413. Extract *Anno* 1534. *For* "A play of Placy Dacy *alias* S^{r} Ewe Stacy," *read* "A play of Placidas *alias* St. Eustace."

[*To face p.* 413.

probably inside them, up to 1570. The players' apparel was sold off in 1579, very near the time it was sold at Chelmsford.

B. *Extracts from the Accounts of the Churchwardens of Chelmsford.*

The old accounts of the Churchwardens of Chelmsford commence in 1557.

The first Inventory of Church goods is dated 21st July 1560, and are arranged under the following heads:—Coopes, Vestements, Clothes belongynge to the high aulter and the frunte of redd velvet, Latten, Lynnen, Bookes, Pewter belonging to y^e^ Church, Plate sold by y^e^ Churchwardens,—but it is difficult to say which of the various items enumerated were used in the services of the Church and which for other purposes.

On the 27th February 1563 another Inventory was made, and in this a distinction was apparently drawn between items used for the Church and for other purposes, as, after enumerating the former, there follows under the head of "Garments" the following (remarks in brackets being additions probably of later date):—

Item fyrst iiij gwones of red velvet.
„ a longe gowne of blew velvet.
„ a short gowne of blew velvet.
„ a gowne of blacke velvet (very much worne).
„ ij gownes of red satten, one much shorter than the other.
„ a gowne of borders.
„ a gowne of clothe of Tyshew.
„ a jerkyn of blew velvet with sleves.
„ a jerkyn of borders w^t^out sleves.
„ viii jerkyns w^t^out sleves (one wanted).
„ ij vyces coates, and ij scalpes, ij daggers (1 dagger wanted).
„ v prophets cappes (one wantinge).
„ vi capes of furre, and one of velvet (one of these on the gownes).
„ iij jeyrkyns, iij flappes for devils, ij payer gloves.
„ iiij shepehoks, iiij whyppes (but one gone).
„ a red gowne of saye (Iron axxe . . . new).
„ xxiii berdes (. . . wanted), xxi hares.
„ a jernet of blewe velvet w^t^ border.
„ a mantell of red Bawdkyn.
„ iij jerkes of red bawdkyn with sleves.
„ a flawken of brasse.

In the list of Payments up to 22nd March 1563 are the following:—

		s.	
Inprms paid	unto the Mynstrolls for the Show day and for the play day	xx	
Itm paid	unto Burtenwood for ther meat and drink .	x	
,,	unto the trumpetur for his paynnes . .	x	
,,	unto Burtenwood for meat and drink for the drumme player, the flute player, and the trumpeter		xviii
,,	unto the flute player for his paynes . .	iij	iiij
,,	unto M^{r} Beadilles man for playeing on the drom	v	
,,	unto M^{r} Brice for his paynes, in part of paymente	xx	
,,	unto Bollybrook for hym and v men for six daies	xxii	
,,	unto Mattras, the sawyer, for ix daies work at xxi^{d} the daye	xii	
,,	for bordinge of Boollibrook and his men .	xiiij	
,,	for bordinge Mattrace and his man . .	vii	vi
,,	unto one Johnson a tailler for makynge of garments	xiij	iiij
,,	to one Smith a tailler . . .	iiij	iiij
,,	unto Robarde Lee the paynter . .	viii	ij
,,	unto Willm Hewet for makinge the vices coote, a fornet of borders, and a Jerken of borders	xv	
,,	the Cowper for xiiij hoopes . . .	ij	ij
,,	to John Lockyer for making iiij shep hoks and for iron work that Burle occupied for the hell	iiij	
Item paide	to Rob^{t} Mathews for a paier of wombes .		xvi
,,	to Burles for suing the play . . .	liij	iiij
,,	to Lawrence for watching in the Churche when the temple was a-dryenge . . .		iiij
,,	for carrying of plonk for the stages ij dayes and a half at ij viij the day . . .	v	iiij
,,	for the mynstrells soper a Saturday at nyght .	ij	
,,	for ther breakfast on Sonday mornynge .	ij	
,,	for ther dynners on Sonday . . .	ij	

		s.	
Item paide	for ther soper on Sonday . . .	ij	
,,	for ther breakfaste on Mondaye . .	ij	
,,	for ther dynners on Mondaye . .	ij	
,,	for ther dynners that kepte the scaffold on Sondaye	iiij	iiij
,,	for ther sowppers that watched on the scaffold at Sondaye at nyght . . .		xvj
,,	for drink brought to the scaffold . .		iiij
,,	for breade and drink among the plaers .	iij	
,,	for drink on the scaffold on Mondaye .		xii
,,	unto the Mynstrells for twoo daies . .	xx	
,,	to the same men for goynge to Branktree .	x	
,,	for the breakfast on Tewsday morne . .	ij	
,,	laide out for my parte for the plaiers dynners at Branktree at the showe ther . .	vii	viij
,,	to the trumpetter ther . . .		xx
,,	for a horsse hyer to Branktre . .		xij
,,	for horssemeat at Branktre . . .		xij
,,	for Jennyns and Coks expenses at Branktre .	vi	viij
,,	geven to Bullybrooks men besyddes ther wages		xii
,,	unto M[r] Scotte for pasturynge the mynstrells horsse at the furst playe . . .	ij	
,,	unto him more for pasturynge the said horsses for iij dayes and one nyght at the last playe	iij	
,,	to Jenyns for his paynes at Brancktre and at this towne	v	
,,	for drink brought to the fryers . .		viii
,,	for Coks and Jennyns breakfaste on Sondaye .		xij
,,	for ther dynners on Sondaye . . .		xij
,,	for the mynstrells dynners at Brancktre .	ij	

Mony recyved at the seconde play by Water Baker, Thomas Jeffrey, and Thomas Hunwick, churchwardens, xvij. xi. iij, and paid as folowith :—

	s.	
Inprims unto William Withers for quarters borde and for wages leide out to his men as appereth by hys bill	iij	ix
Item paid to M[r] Raynold and Willm Wigglesworth that they lende out for ther dynners at Maldon .	xiiij	

		s.	
Item paid	unto M[r] Browne that he laid out at Maldon at our show ther	iiij	iiij
,,	unto M[r] Knote that he layde out at Maldon .	v	
,,	to M[r] Dowe for meate and drink brought to the scaffold the furste play daye . .	iiij	x
,,	to M[r] Browne for the waightes of Bristowe and for ther meate drink and horse-meat	iiij	viij
,,	to M[r] Bridges for cullers . . .	iiij	
,,	to W[m] Brownynge for cloth as appereth by his Bill	xxxvi	vi
,,	unto Burles for suinge the last play and for makyng the conysants . . .	xlij	
,,	unto him for flower and rede nailles . .		iiij
,,	to Cales for vi daies worke fynding hymself meate and drink	vi	
,,	unto William Richards for makyng of five gownnes and iiij Jerkens . . .	vi	viij
,,	unto father Stroode for iiij disshes . .		iiij
,,	to John ffust for v daies work . .	iij	iiij
,,	unto him for sice and cullers . .		xvjj
,,	to Edmond Strether for bording of Burles and his boy iij weekes. . . .	xvj	
,,	unto hym for wood		xx
,,	,, ,, for candill		iij
,,	,, ,, for bording John Fust v daies .		xx
,,	for the carriage home of M[r] Barber's apparell .		iiij
,,	unto John Stucke for meate and drink for M[r] Brice's borde & for his horse meat . .	xiii	iiij
,,	unto Andrew for heres and beardes borrowed of hym	iiij	
,,	more paid unto Nicholas Eve for necessaries againste the playe . . .	xiii	iiij
,,	to M[r] Mildmay for ij loodes of pooles for the stages	vi	
,,	forty Mynstrells meate and drinke at the last play	xij	
,,	for a colderkin and a ferken brought unto the scaffold	vi	
,,	for breade and meate at the same tyme .	vi	viij

		s.	
1562.	Receivede at the ij last plaies by Thomas Jeffery and Thomas Hunwick, Wardens . .	xix xix	iiij
	More received of the men of Sabsforde for the hier of the garments, An. 1562 . .	xxix	
	More received of the same men for the hyer of the same garments in 1563 . . .	xxx	
	More received for hyer of the same garments of M[r] William Peter, Knyght . . .	xvi	
Imprimo	Paid unto William Wyglesworth of old debt for tymber bought of hym at the firste playe	xxxiij	iiij
,,	unto the goodman Browne of the Cocke, for old debt he lente at the furste playe .	xl	
,,	unto Edmond Sabryght for olde debte .	xxiij	iiij
,,	more to Edmond Whyght for olde debt .	vij	vj
Paid	to John Stucke for old debte xiij . iiij, and for other charges syns (vi . viii in all) . . .	xx	
„	unto the mynstrells for the showe day and for the playe daye	xxxiij	iiij
„	for board for the players	ij	x
„	for bearing the payments for drink for them .	ij	viij
„	Richard Parker and William Wythers for suinge the play and fyndinge themselves . . .	xl	
„	to Brocke for helpinge them . . .	vi	viij
„	to William Withers for making the frame for the heaven stage, and tymber for the same . .	x	
,,	more unto him for nailles and gluowe . .		xx
,,	to Christopher for writtinge . . .	iiij	
,,	to Henry Gaynner for cullers . . .	iij	
,,	to Thomas Whale, tailler, for xxi[lbs] of gonpowder .	xiiij	iiij
„	to Thomas Jeffrey for divers wares sett of him for the play	lvii	vij
„	to Richard Parker for suing the last playe and fynding hymself	x	
„	in rewarde to John Turner for his paynes taking .	x	
„	to George Martindale for divers wares sett of hym for the plaies	xvi	viij
„	to Matthew Sonnes for suinge the same (last playe) .	*	*
,,	to Richard Burd for two daies payntenge . .	ij	
,,	to John Fuste in like manner . . .	ij	
,,	to William Withers for makynge the last temple, the waies, and his paynnes . . .	xiiij	iiij

	s.	
Paid to the Cowper for one greate hope and xv smale hopes		xix
„ to Thomas Logge for hoopes sett of hym by Burles at the furst playe	vii	
„ to John Wryght for makyinge a cotte of lether for Christ		xvi
Itm paid to Solomon of Hatfild for parchmte . .	ij	
„ to the Widdow Pamplen for lyne and packthread	ij	ij
„ at Brancktre when the play was showed ther paid by Thos. Hunnock . . .	vij	viij
„ for drink for the players when the play was showed		xviii
„ to Mother Dale and her company for reaping flagges for the scaffold . . .		xij
„ to Polter and Rosse for watching in the pightell [1] on the play show	ij	iiij
„ for ij[lbs] of assendewe for the thurd playe .	vi	iiij
„ for one doss Spanyshe whight . . .		vi
„ for vi dos gold foile	iij	vi
„ for vi paper bordes		xij
„ for hopes		xij
„ for fyftie fadam of lyne for the cloudes . .		xii
„ for one dos. grene foile . . .		xii
„ for ij lb. reade leade		vi
„ for ij lb. Brassoll		vi
„ for iij paper bordes		viii
„ for iiij[os] Synop papers		viii
„ for tenn men to beare the pagiante . .	ij	vj
„ to Browne for keapinge the cornehill on the showe daye		iij
„ to Roistone for payntenge the Jeiants, the pagiante, and writing the plaiers names .	vij	
„ to Henry Gaynners for cullers . . .	ij	vj
„ for paper to wright the Bookes . .		j
„ to Richard Burde for ij daies payntenge and making the liveries	iij	ij
„ for read wyne, vineg[r] and ressett . .		iiij
„ for a black plate [2]		vi
„ to Mother Dale for reaping flagges . .		xii
„ for half a thousand of ij[d] nailes and half a thousand of iij[d] nailes . . .	ij	vi

[1] *Pightell* = inclosure.

[2] Was this Judas' black nimbus? See p. 359.

		s.	
Item Paide for half a lb. Asshenders for the last play			xiiij
,, for 1 lb. bottome pakthrede			vi
,, for 1 dos gold foile			vi
,, for 1 lb. Spanish browne			ij
,, for five matches			ij
,, for Bowstringes			j
,, to Mother Dale for flagges			xij
,, for one bundell lathe			xij
,, to Thomas Jeffrey for dyvers p'cells btt of hym for the plaies as appereth by hys booke	iij	vij	xj

The acompte made by Nycolas Eve, Robert Wood, and George Martendale, wardens of the goodes of the Pishe Churche of Chelmsforde aforesayd, from the xxvii of Feb^{y} 1563 unto the third day of March 1565, in the ayght yere of the Raigne of our Sovraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland Quene, defender of the faith, etc.

The following are extracted from the account as relating to the plays :—

	s.	
Recayved of Coulchester men for our garments for the use of there playe	xliii	iij
,, of men of Waldyne for the here of iij gounes	x	
,, of Beleryca men for the here of our garments	xxvii	viij
,, of men of Coulchester for the here of our garments for ij tymes	xiii	iiij
,, of Belyrica men for the here of our garments	xx	
,, of men of Starford for the here of our garments	iij vi	viij
,, of children of Badow for the here of our garments	vi	viij
,, of Lytell Badow men for the here of our garments	xxvi	viij
Payments to William Rychards for mending of our garments and j scayne of sylke	iiij	ij
,, to John Lockear for mendynge of the Cloke iij tymes	vi	
Receipts, 3rd June 1566—		
of Sabsforde men for the hyer of the players garments	xl	

	s.	
Receipts, 3rd June 1566—		
of Casse of Boreham for the hier of the players garments	xiij	iiij
of Somers of Lanchire for the hier of the players garments	xxvi	viij
of Barnaby Riche of Witham for the hyer of the players garments	xxvi	viij
of Will[m] Monnteyne of Colchester for the hyer of the players garments	xiii	iiij
of M[r] Johnston of Brentwoode for the hyer of the players garments the 10[th] Dec. . . .	x	
of Richard More of Nayland for players apparell .	iiij	viij
of Frauncis Medcalfe the iiij of June 1568 for two players gownes	iij	
of W[m] Crayford of Burnam the ij of June 1568 for players apparell	v	
Receites by me John Bridges from the xvi November 1570 unto the xx[th] January 1571 as followell :—		
of High Ester men for cartine players apparell for ther playe	xiii	iiij
of Parker of Writtell for the heare of iiij players garments	iiij	
of M[r] Higham of Woodham Walter for sartten players apperyle for ther play . . .	x	
Resayved by me John Bridges 1572 as follows :—		
of Parker of Writtell for players Aprill . .	iij	
more of the Earle of Sussex players for the heare of the players garments	xxvi	viij
of John Walker of Hanfild for the heier of players garments	v	

After the election of Churchwardens on 4th October 1573 an Inventory appears to have been taken, and under the head of garments as follows :—

Fower gownes of redd velvett.
one longe gowne of blew velvett.
one short gowne of blew velvett.
one gowne of black velvett very much worne.
two gownes of redd Satten, the one much shorter than the other.
one gowne of borders.

one gowne of clothe of tyssewe.
one jerken of blew velvett wth sleves.
one jerkyn of blew velvett wthout sleves.
seven jerkens without sleves.
two vyce cots, two scalpes, and one dagger.
foure prophitts cappes.
sixe capes of furre and one of velvett.
one shepe hook, iiij whippes.
a wnō cappe.
tenne bards, xvii hares.
one jernette of blew velvett with borders.
one Mantell of red Bawdekyn.
three jerkens of red Bawdkyn with sleves.
a ffawkyn of brasse.

Receipts the iiij Oct. 1573—		s.	
of Thomas Wallinger for one parcel of red velvett in length about 1 yard by consent of sundry of the Parishioners		vi	viij
of Casse of Boreham the eyght of June for the hyer of sundry players garments until Michaelmas night .		x	
Churchwardens' account, 28 Nov. 1574—			
Item in hand the playe books remaining witt the said George Martendale witt the rest . .	lb. iiij		
1574. Receyved of the players of Boreham for the hire of the players garments till the mondaye after twelfe day next after . . .		v	
Item soulde unto George Studlye and others all the ropes, vestaments, subdeacons, players coats, jerkens, gownes, heares, cappes, berds, jornetts, mantells, and capes mentioned in the Inventorye of the last Churchwardens by the consent of diverse of the parishioners as by a byll under their hands apereth to the use of the mayentenance of the Church for	vi	xiij	iiij
1575. Paide to M^{r} Knott for the makinge of two oblijacyons for the assurance of the players garments belonginge to the Pyshe . .			viij

We have in these accounts a very vivid picture of the bustle of the play-days. It is not clear whether the 'scaffold' was inside or

outside the church, probably the latter. But a portion of the play, that relating to the 'temple,' was apparently given inside the church. We see that the religious drama was still a source of great profit to the Church; especially is this apparent when we regard the relative value of money then and now; and, further, we note the profit that could be made by letting out the theatrical wardrobe at a period when the whole countryside was clamorous for the players. About 1575 we find the connection between Church and stage comes to an end, and then within a couple of decades the stage as a lay institution had reached almost the zenith of its power.

APPENDIX IV

THE 'GERICHT' AND 'GENOSSENSCHAFT'

A. *On 'Gericht.'*

THE basis of *gericht* itself is Teutonic *rak*, Aryan *rag*, *rez*, and this may, with some slight boldness, be connected with the series of ideas we have found in the *mahal* and the kin-group. All the notions of *regal*, *rich*, *right*, *righten*, *reach*, *rig*, are associated with the root. The primitive notion in many Aryan tongues is stretch out, straighten, *erect*. Thus Greek ὀρέγω is to stretch out, grasp, ὄργυια, for ὀρέγυια, is span. I think the idea of setting up a mark, fence, or similar erection is also primitive. Thus we have Icelandic *rétt*, to pen, O.N. *rett*, an inclosure for cattle,[1] and the Latin *erigo*, with the notion of build, erect. The term *regere fines*, to mark the boundaries, is also very suggestive. The root does not seem free from the notion of the *hag* or fence placed round the site of the old *mahal*. The Gothic *reks*, as in *bireks*, signifies the inclosed or shut in. Just as the fenced land of the kin led us from *cyneland* to the kingdom, so we find in Gothic *reiki*, O.N. *riki*, O.H.G. *rihhi*, A.S. *rice*, Danish *rige*, Modern German *reich*, the lordship. The kin-alderman becomes the Gothic *reiks*, chief, lord; Sanskrit *rájan*, Gaelic *rig*, Latin *rex*, chief or king. But just as the kin-chief does not always get further than the master or parent, so we find that while Irish *rí* is king, Welsh *rhi* is *dominus* and *nobilis* (p. 135), while *rhiant* is *parent*. Further, while Irish *rígan* is queen, Welsh

[1] In Landsmaal *rett* is a straight flat *markstrackning*, and *langrett* is used in the same sense. But *rett* is also used for *teig* in the sense of a fenced piece of land, whether meadow or tilth. I would venture to compare it with ὀργάς for ὀρεγάς, which, exactly like *rett*, may include meadow, tilth, and even wood. The *rett*, like the ὀργάς, may very probably have originally been sacred to a mother-goddess, *i.e.* a *haygarten*.

In the light of this, Frigg, the goddess of fertility, with her plough and the whole series of Germanic folk-customs, which involve the yoking of the unmarried women, or rather women who *decline to marry*, to the plough of the goddess, become more or less intelligible. But of these customs I hope to treat on another occasion. Lastly, besides the reference to *tilth* on p. 207, an examination of Shakespeare's *Pericles*, Act iv. scene 6, and his *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act ii. scene 2, will show that the sex-significance of plough was as familiar in mediæval England as in the lands which used *bauer* and *cultus* in the sense of wantonness.

Middle Ages the dancing of the Virgin and saints in heaven,[1] of the devils in hell, and the soul- and death-dances (see pp. 337-342), are all *reigen*. The *reigen* were often conducted under the linden-tree, the spot later of the *gericht* and of betrothal, earlier of the sex-festival (p. 412). From this aspect the Low German *reien*, *rëen*, which is used of loitering about in the streets in the evening, especially of maids who run after men, is peculiarly significant. A Lübeck *Zunft* order forbids the journeymen tailors, when holding their *reyen* on *Walpurgistag*, to have women and maidens present. Further we find that it was the custom in Lübeck for the bridegroom to come into the bride's house with a *sammelinge to dantzende edder to reyende*. The sense of *reige*, I think, is preserved in English *rig*, a frolic, *rig*, a wanton, and *rigge*, to be wanton, corresponding with German *reien* just cited. The above sexual sense of the *rag* root might be thought to be limited to the Germanic branch of the Aryan tongues, but I venture to think we can trace it also in the Greek. I have already pointed to the ὀργάς as the fenced meadow. Now the ὀργάς between Athens and Megara was a tract sacred to the goddesses of fertility, Demeter and Persephoné.[2] Young marriageable women were termed ὀργάδες, possibly from the tilth analogy, but at least comparable with Welsh *rhiain* for *virgo*. In Greek ὀργή (for ὀρεγή) we have the conception of passion, doubtless in the earliest period sexual passion; ὀργάω (for ὀρεγάω) is to swell with lust, to wax wanton, and corresponds to the sense in English *rig* and Low German *reien*, and less closely to the sense of excite in Latin *erigo*, Modern German *eregen*, and more grossly to the use of *rugen* in the *Fastnachtspiele*. But the ὀργάς, as the *haingarten* of the goddess of fertility, is the seat of the ὄργια (for ὀρέγια), the sexual festival to the goddess of fertility, whose priest and priestess are the ὀργεών and ὀργεώνη.[3] Thus we have made the whole round from the root *rag*, the judicial court, the meal, the sex-festival with its worship of a goddess of fertility, the choral dance in the inclosure, and the tribe leader developing into parent, king, and priest. We have the *hag*

[1] (Maria speaks)

min briutgom vüert den reigen dâ
die heilegen tanzent alle nâ.
Marienleben, cited in Grimms' *Wörterbuch*.

[2] See references in Index II.

[3] The Norse use of *regin* for the gods, and the verb *ragna*, to call down the gods' anger on any one, may possibly be compared.

and *gat* notion of primitive Aryan life again repeated, if it be in a less definite form.

B. *The 'Genossenschaft.'*

The root of the word here is one of the most interesting in the whole range of specially Teutonic developments. The sense of the word is to be found in *genieszen*, to enjoy, but with the underlying and antique sense of enjoying in *common*. Hildebrand, in Grimms' *Wörterbuch*,[1] takes the original sense to have been acquiring in common by the hunt or by war, and the later to be that of common enjoyment. He bases his interpretation on the use of the *strengthened* forms — Anglo-Saxon *beneotan* for rob, and Gothic *ganiutan* in the sense of capture. I venture to think this notion is rather a development of the original sense of the word, especially among warlike Teutonic stems, the chief occupation of whom was the acquirement of booty in common. O.H.G. *niozan* is *uti, frui, usu capere, capere cibum; ganiuzan* is *consumere*, but the idea of *rob* does not occur. Accordingly the uses of the Gothic *ganiutan* in the sense of take fish (Luke v. 9), and catch (Mark xii. 13), besides *nuta* for fisherman, seem to me quite easy derivative notions. The Gothic *niutan*, A.S. *niotan*, O. Fries. *nieta*, O.N. *niota*, all retain the simple notion of use, enjoy, without that of rob. Lithuanian *panústi* is lust after, and *naudà* profit. The ultimate root appears to be *nu*, or with a guttural *nu-d-* (possibly Sanskrit *nand*, enjoy, rejoice may be connected). The sense is to use, to profit by, to enjoy, and therefore, in early times, with special application to food and sex. But I have already traced the community of primitive society in bed and board. Hence the fundamental application of the root is to what is enjoyed *in common*. The *use* notion is very widespread. In Scandinavian we have *nautna, neyta, nyde*, to enjoy, to eat, *njota nytte*, to use, eat, *benytte*, and the nouns denoting help, utility, corresponding to Danish *nytte*, O.N. *nyt*. In German we have all the notions of use, enjoyment in *nützen* and *nütze*;[2] English dialect gives us *nate*, etc. In Landsmaal *naut*, in

[1] See under *genieszen* and *genosz*. I have freely used Hildebrand's citations.

[2] O.H.G. *nutz* has the sense of profit, produce of the land; Friesian *not* is the word for agricultural produce of all sorts, O.N. *nyt* is specially used of dairy products, in other words, we are carried back to the most primitive sense of the useful or profitable as food. A cognate series is O.H.G. *niot*, O.F. *niod*, A.S.

O.N. *nautr*, is a comrade, one who enjoys in common. The German has not retained this simple form, but has put all the ancient ideas of common life into the strengthened form *genieszen*. This word denotes essentially the idea of common enjoyment; it is not only eating and drinking, but pleasure in so doing. The noun *geniesze*, or in its more usual form *genusz*, is essentially the pleasurable satisfaction of appetite in contradistinction to the mere desire, the *begierde*. Like *niezen* it is used of the satisfaction of sexual appetite: *er nâz ir jungen süezen lîp, biz daz diu maget wart ein wîp* (Daz heselîn, *Gesammtabenteuer*, ii. p. 9). *Genieze* in M.H.G. is used of a female comrade, the later *genossin*. While *genieze* in M.H.G. is used of food and love, its O.H.G. sense was undoubtedly *gemeingeniesze*, the *nutznieszung in gemeinschaft*. Even Luther in his Bible translation gives the *mittheilung* of the older German versions, the *participatio* of the Vulgate, by *geniess*: "What *fellowship—geniess*—hath righteousness with unrighteousness?" (2 Cor. 6, 14). The typical word is O.H.G. *ganôz*, *kinôz*, equivalent to O.N. *nautr*, and glossed *socius, contubernalis, sodalis, aequalis, commilito*—in other words, we find the *ganôz* is exactly like the *gataling* (p. 154) and the *gamahcho* (p. 143). We have the group of *eriunte* with common living, common house, and equal privileges, degenerating as the glosses *huskinozi, domestici*, and *ganôz, cliens*, show into the same senses as the *hiwa* terms (p. 126) degenerated. It is noteworthy, however, that *ganôz* stands for either male or female comrade: it is glossed like *ganôzinna* by *collega*. Similarly *genieze* in M.H.G. is used of either sex, the *genosse* or the *genossin*, the simple *mitgenieszer*. M.H.G. *genôzinne*, or simply *genôze*, is used for *socia, consors*, wife.[1] Turning back to O.H.G. we note *kinôzsam, facundus*, in the sense of social; *ganôzsami, collegia; ganôzsamon, ganôzon*, both glossed *consociare; ganôzscaf, consortium, contubernium, collegium, sodalitas; ungenôz* is one who is not of the *ganôzscaf; ungenôzami* is used in the *Weisthümer* of a wife, not one of the *genoszschaft*; while the terms *mitgenôssig* and *ungenossig* are rendered by *consors* and *exsors*. Like senses may be followed in a more scattered manner in M.L.G. *genôt*, A.S. *genéat*, and Dutch *genoot*, etc. *Eidgenoss* is like the *eidam* (p. 223), the

nôd, desire, lust, joy, with the verb *niotôn*, A.S. *giniedôn*, to enjoy to the full, to rejoice in, and O.H.G. adjective *niotsam, desirabilis*, etc.

[1] *Genieszung* is used for *genusz*, and the two words may be compared with *gatalung* and *gotte*. It also stands, of course, for enjoyment.

man whose *genoszschaft* arises from an oath and not from blood. Suggestive for the common life is the term *brôtgenossen* as equivalent to *êhalten* (see p. 126). *Weidgenossen*, *alpgenossen*, *markgenossen* all indicate the primitive community with its common rights in wood, pasture, and land.

Thus we see, as in the *vriunte*, that the *genossen* were a community arising from a common satisfaction of appetite, a common profit. It only remains to show that the *genoszschaft* was originally an endogamous group.

It is impossible here to enter on the picture of primitive communal life that the *Weisthümer* provide, but one or two points regarding the earliest *genoszschaft* may be emphasised. In the first place, it was a group having rights of inheritance, intermarriage, and interchange of products. The head of the community had to take care that the *genossen* neither *wîben noch mannen uszer der gnoszschaft*. If they do, and a child results, that child has no inheritance within the *genoszschaft*.[1] As the 1320 Ebersheimmünster *Weisthum* puts it, when a man "*usser siner genössinne grifet, unde gewinnet die ein kint*," that child is not his heir.[2] This custom of marrying within the *genoszschaft* will be found in the *Weisthümer* right away from Elsass to Tyrol, and explains the strong feeling against exogamy which still exists in many an out-of-the-way valley (p. 140). In several cases we find different lesser or sub-communities claim the right to give and to take each other's children in marriage; and a noteworthy paragraph in the *Schwabenspiegel* tells us that if a man dies leaving two daughters, one of whom has married her *genôz* and the other her *ungenôz*, only the former inherits *genoszschaft* property. The obvious basis of all this is that group-property was not to pass out of the old endogamous kin-group. The group is repeatedly described as consisting of persons *einandern genosz und geerb*, who may *zu einanndern varnn vnnd von einanndern*, *i.e.* may intermarry.[3] Thus it comes about that a *genôsz* may only sell his land and rights within the *genoszschaft*, or at least not until he has sought a purchaser within the *geerbe* or *genôsze*. But this restriction stretched a good deal farther than the land, we find it applied not only to all standing crops, but to garden produce, to all the produce, in fact, of what

[1] J. Grimm's *Weisthümer*, Bd. v. p. 64 (Koelikon, *circa* 1400).
[2] *Ibid.* Bd. i. p. 669.
[3] See the *Öfnung von Brütten*, Grimm's *Weisthümer*, i. p. 144.

in older days had been the common kin-group land. Even fish and crayfish are in some cases not to be exported. Manufactured articles, bread, bricks, tiles, ploughs, pots, tubs, etc., must either not be sold at all outside the *genoszschaft*, or first offered for sale to the *genôsze*. Even tailors, shoemakers, and smiths must work only for the *genôsze*, or for them in the first place and at a cheaper rate.[1] The primitive community is not only endogamous, we see also the fossils of an older self-sufficing communism. Even in the mediæval *genôszschaft*, overlaid as it was with developed feudalism, we find the strongest traces of the old internal self-government. The alderman or kin-chief may have become an hereditary lord, but the *heimal*, *fryggeding*, or *gehegtes gericht* of the *genôszschaft*, held under the *gerichtsbaum*, show us clearly enough the old group-habits of the *gatalunge* and the *vriunte*. Their *genieszen* is an enjoyment in common of food, and of the product of the land and chase; their *genuss* (Tyrolese *gnuss*) is a *gemeinnutzung* of woods and pasture; their *geneten*, a *rechtes geneten*, the legal advantage in the *mahal*. But at the same time the sex-weight never leaves the words, and the *liebesgenuss* it refers to is the endogamous union of a localised kindred group. The modern *genossenschaft* is one of the pillars of our present commercial system, but its origin in the old kindred group-marriage—the human herd—is hardly more realised than are those of *right* (p. 427) and of *love* (p. 175).

[1] See von Maurer, *Geschichte der Markverfassung*, 1856, pp. 179-184.

INDEX I.—WORDS AND ROOTS

CITED IN

ESSAY ON KINDRED GROUP-MARRIAGE[1]

NON-ARYAN

ARABIAN

batn 117
rehem 117
hayy 124
hawwa 124

FINNISH

aiti 131
isä 131

ARYAN

anth, ath 131
gam 235
gan, gen 113, 117, 132, 134, 135
g'elta 194
gelvo 194
ghad 153
ghar 178
ghreudo 149
ka, kar 177, 178
kam 177
jam, gam 225, 235
tak 187, 242
tego 187
daiái 236
daivér 236
dar, dhar 178
dharg 183
pâ 204, 206, 208, 218
pâsos 206
prî 168
pu 222
bar 120, 122
bhero 121
lib, lub' 175, 176, 177
mâ 101, 196, 200
mad 200
mal 200
vedhô 227
vic 190
vid 238
si 162
snu 226
spherag 159
sphoragos 159
stâr 122
strî 122
sû 122, 162
sûtar 122
sûtrî 122
sva 122
svasr 122
svedhô 118, 232

SANSKRIT

ambâ 201
udara 132
ulva 199
urvárâ 199
ga 113
gad 153
gâmi 224, 225
gâmâtri 225
gand'as 153
gara 227
gárâmi 189
g'árás 189
gnâ 114, 117
gnâta 118
gnâti 118
cakamâná 177
kam 177
kâma 177
kamra 177
ksâ 123
k'si 123
k'sis 123
k'sitis 123
jam 224
jarta 194
yâtar 234
taksh 187
tâtas 208
toka 187
dampati 190
d'avas 101, 237
dáyate 236
devár 236
dhar 179
dhri 178
dhridha 178
dôgd'rî 223
dóhas 223
dúg 101, 222

[1] The spelling and grouping adopted is that of the sources from which the words have been taken, and is therefore not always consistent. The index is solely for purposes of reference, and lays no claim to being a scientific classification. All the pages in this Index refer to Vol. II.

duh 222
dúg'â 223
duhitâ 222
dru, dáru 179
nafsu 218
nápât 218
naptjam 218
pásas 206
patar 205
pâtra 208
pitrvjas 208
putrâ 222
pra-av 170
pramâtha 112
praudha 118
pravah 118
pri 166, 170
prijâ 166
prijâja 166
prijas 166
prîta 172
priti 172
Pritis 166, 168
bhar, bhr 120
bhártar 122
bhartri 121
bhavana 185
bhrâtar 120, 121
bhrâtarâu 122
bhu, bu 184, 185
bhûti 185
b'rud 101, 113
buli 185
lubh, lob 175
lubdha 175
manmatha 112
manth, math 112
mâtâputrâu 199
mâtar 199
mâtârâu 198
mâtr 196
mâtrikâ 197, 202, 204
mâtrkâ 140
mâtrkâs 202
vadujâ 227
vadhû 227
vâma 134
vánas 134
vapanam 193
vapra 193
veça 190
viçpáti 190
vi, vip, 192, 193
vidh 237
vidhává 101, 237
vidhû 237
çéva 125
çi 128
çuras 229
çvaçura 229, 234
çvacrûs 229
sabbya 162
sabhá 162
savam 221
si 134
siv 162
snushâ 226
sômas 222
su 221
sûnas 221
sûnus 221
sutâ 221
sûtu 221
sva 229
svatu 118
svesrino 235
svaçura : *see* çvaçura
svakurjas 230
syâlas 235

HINDUSTANEE

sâs 232
susra 232

ZEND—PERSIAN

ghena 114
zâmi 225
zâmâtar 225
dokhter (*Pers.*) 222
napât (*Pers.*) 218
brâtuirya 216
vadhęmnô 227
viçpaiti 190
vip (*Bact.*) 193
vipta (*Bact.*) 193
sapah (*Pers.*) 162
sipa (*Pers.*) 162
sipah (*Pers.*) 162
sipâhi (*Pers.*) 162

ARMENIAN

ordz 189
tagr 236
hayr 206

ALBANIAN

nούσεja 226
nουσερία 226, 227

GREEK

ἀγαθός 155
ἀγείρω 156
ἀγορά 156, 157, 158, 242
ἀγοραία 157
ἀδελφός 120
ἄελιοι 235
Ἀθήνη 131
ἀλέω 149
ἀλήθουσαι 149
ἅλοξ 124
ἀνεψιός 218
ἀνθέω 131
ἄνθος 131
ἀννίς 229
ἄροτος 124
ἄρουρα 124
ἀρόω 124
βρύω 119
γάλα 234
γάλως 234
γαμβρός 225
γαμεῖν 235
γαμέω 138, 225
γάμος 138
γαστήρ 115
γενέτωρ 113
γένος 115
γέντερ 115
γένω 113
γιγνώσκω 118
γνωτός 118
γραῖαν 189
γύης 124
γυνή 114, 115
δαήρ 236
δαΐς 236
δαίω 236
δέλτα 194
δρῦς 179
ἔδνον 227
ἔθνος 118
ἔθος 118
εἰνάτερες 234, 235
ἐκυρά 229
ἑκυρός 228, 229, 230
ἐπιθαλάμιος 133
εὐνή 134
Fέθος 232
Fιθ- 238
Foῖκος 190
ἠθέη 238
ἤθεος 238
θρόνος 179
θυγάτηρ 222
κάδος 152
κεῖμαι 128, 136
κείω 136
κοιμάω 136
κοιναί 126
κοινοί 126
κοινός 126
κοινόω 126
κοινωνέω 126
κοίνωμα 126
κοινωνία 126

κοίτη 136
κόρη 115
κράληs 189
κῦροs 229
κώμη 136, 178
κῶμοs 136, 158
κωμῳδία 178
λέγω 188
λεχώ 188
μαῖα 197, 202, 204
μαιάs 197
μαιεύομαι 197
ματρύλη 197
μήτηρ 196
μήτρα 197
μυλλάs 150
μυλλόs 150
μύλλω 150
νέποδεs 219
νυόs 225
νύμφη 201
οἰκεῖοs 134
οἰκειότηs 134, 190
οἰκείωμα 134, 190
οἰκία 190
οἶκοs 134, 190
οἰκοδεσπότηs 190
ὄρχιs 189
παρθένοs 130
πατέομαι 204
πατήρ 205
πάτρωs 209
πενθερά 228, 229
πενθερόs 229
πέοs 206
πηόs, παόs 206
ποιεῖν παῖδα 138
πόσιs 206
πότνια 206
σακόs 231
σηκόs 231
σκιρτάω 132
συμπόσιον 136
σύννυμφοs 235
συντετριμμένοιs 149
συντρίβω 149
σῦs 221
συσσίτιον 122
τάτα 208
τέκνον 187
τέκτων 187
τέττα 208
τεύχειν 187
τέχνη 187
τίκτειν 187
τράγοs 136
τραγῳδία 137
τρίβω 149
τρῖψαι 149
ὗηs 222
υἱόs 221
ὑμήν 138, 222
φερ- 120
φῖτυ 184
φῖτυs 184
φιτύω 184
φράτρα 120, 122
φρατρία 165
φυ- 184
φυλή 184
φύσιs 184
φυτεύω 184
φυτόν 184
φώτωρ 184, 206, 207, 208
φύω 184, 206
χαδ- 152, 153
χαμύνη 193
χανδάνω 152
χανδόs 152
χάριτεs 178
χατέω 152
χοόs 132, 157, 158, 178
χορτάζω 157
χόρτοs 157, 178

LATIN

admater 214
adpater 214
amica 178
amicus 178
amita 216
amo 178
avunculus 215
avus 215
camera 178
caritas 177, 241
caritia 177
carmen 178
carus 177
cauda 188
chorus 178
civis 123
civitas 123
coemptio 138
coelebs 130
cognati 135
cogniti 135
cognosco 118
comis 177
commater 210, 235
compater 210
compaternitas 213
concio 151
confarreatio 138, 147, 148
congregatio 156
congressio 156
congressus 156
conjugium 138, 198
conjunctio 151
connubium 198
consobrinus 235
consors 140
consortium 138
consponsae 235
consponsus 235
consuesco 122, 232
consuetio 122
contritos 149
contubernium 138
conversatio 146
convivium 143
convivor 143
cosinus 235
cunnus 113
di-vido 237
dominus 190
domus 190
familia 126
fasciatorium 213
fe- 127, 184
fecundus 127, 185
feles 185
felix 185
femina 185
fenum 127, 185
fer- 120
feretrum 120
fertor 121
fetus 127, 185
filiola 214
filiolus 214
firmus 179
fodrus 207
fovea 120
fovere 120
frater 120
fratria 241
fretus 179
friare 121
frutex 119
geminus 225
gen- 118, 134, 135
gener 225
generosus 135
genialis 135
genialitas 135
genitor 113
genius 135
genu 117
genus 115, 135
gigno 113
glos 234
gnosco 135
grex 156
haga 128, 164
haia 128, 164
haistaldi 129
hortus 158, 178
hymen 138

janitrices 234
ju-, jug- 224
levir 228, 236
liber 174
Liber 175
Libitina 175
lubere 175
lubido 175
mater 196
materia 199, 200, 201
maternitas 198
maternus 214
matertera 202
Matrae 199
Matralia 201
matricula 203
matrimonium 198
matrix 113, 197, 200, 203
modus 200
molentes 149
nepos 219
nepotes 202
neptis 219
nitor 117
nobilis 135
nubere 101, 118, 192
nura 226
nurus 225, 226
pabulum 204, 207
panis 204
paricida 206
pasco 204, 205
pastor 205
pater 205
paternus 214
patrinus 212
patruelis 209
penis 206
plebs 127
potens 206
progenies 203
prosapia 163
puer 222
pusus 222
putus 222
sobrinus 219, 230, 235
soca 231
socer 228
socrus 228, 229, 230
soga 231
sponsor 214
spurcalia 159
suavaum 232
sueo 122
supa 164
supanos 164
suppar 164
sus 162, 221
trudere 123
uterinus 230
uterus 132
vagina 195
vagus 195
venter 115
Venus 114
veretrum 120
vibrare 192
vicus 190
vidua 237
viduus 237
viere 192
virgo 130
voluptas 174
volva 188, 194
volvere 195
vulva 194

ROMANCE

ama (*Span.*) 204
ama (*Languedoc*) 204
amo (*Span.*) 204
beaupère (*Fr.*) 230
carail (*Span.*) 189
carajo (*Span.*) 189
commère (*Fr.*) 211
compère (*Fr.*) 212
druda (*Ital.*) 180, 182
drudo (*Ital.*) 180
fodero (*Ital.*) 207
gale (*O. Fr.*) 197
moudre (*Fr.*) 150
nuora (*Ital.*) 225
parrain (*Fr.*) 212
queue (*Fr.*) 188
suocero (*Ital.*) 228

CELTIC

am (*Gaelic*) 204
arwedd (*Welsh*) 227
brith (*Old Irish*) 121
cara (*Irish*) 177
caraim (*Irish*) 177
caur (*Old Irish*) 229
chwegr (*Welsh*) 230
chwegrwn (*Welsh*) 229, 230
drûth (*Gaelic*) 180
dyweddio (*Welsh*) 227
fedb (*Irish*) 237
fick (*Old Irish*) 190
fine (*Old Irish*) 134
gadal (*Old Irish*) 153
guic (*Cornish*) 190
gwaddol (*Welsh*) 227
gwamm (*Breton*) 194
gwaudd (*Welsh*) 227
guedeu (*Cornish*) 237
gweddwi (*Welsh*) 237
gubit (*Cornish*) 227
hwegr (*Cornish*) 230
suth (*Old Irish*) 221
tad (*Welsh*) 208

ANGLO-SAXON

âdum 223
bearnum 209
braedan 120
brîd 119
brid 120
brittan 120
brod 119
broðrum 209
brydbûr 186
brȳdleod 133
brȳdsang 133
bûr 185
carlcatt 189
catel 152
ceorlian 189
cernen 189
cneó 117
cneos 116
cvithe 115
cyn 116
cynehlaford 116, 117, 163
cynelond 116
cynerice 116
cynebeod 116
cynraeden 160, 161
cyrran 189
deorfrid 173
dohtor 222
Drida 181
dry 181
dryas 181
dryht 183
dryhten 183
dryhtguma 184
eâm 215
ĉowend 188
faðe 208, 217
faðu 217
fæder 205
fædera 209
fæderencyn 142
fæderingmag 142
faselt 206
fodder 207
frigjan 166
friôd 166
frundeling 167
gaed 154
gaedeling 154
gamah 144
gâl 197
gat 115, 153
geat 152
gecynd 116

gecyndelim 116
gefaedera 209
gefer 159
gefera 159
gefere 159
geferraeden 159
gemaca 144
gemaecnes 142
gemagas 139
geswirja 232
gift 138
giftung 138
godfaeder 214
godsib 214
godsunu 214
gossibraede 161
grytt 149
haeman 127
haemed 127
haemedceorl 127
haemedding 127
haemedgemana 127
haemdo 127
haemedrif 114, 127
haemend 127
haege 129
haegesse 130
hägsteald 129
hägtesse 130
hägtis 130
haga 129
halsfang 209
heawan 127
heos 128
hig 127
higo 127
higum 127
hiredesealder 137
hiredesfaeder 137
hiredesmoder 137
hîva 126
hivraede 126, 161, 163
hivred 126
hivredgerifa 126
hivscipe 126
hivung 126
hiwa 126, 137, 139
hiwan 126
hiwiski 126
hiwunga 126
hög 130, 131
horcwen 114
knôsi 118
lâc 133
lagu 128
leofman 233
liegan 128
liof 175
maca 140
maga 138, 193
maeg 139, 140
maege 139
maegelagu 105
maegð 139, 163
maegeð 139, 140, 193
maegeðman 193
maeggemot 148
maeghaemed 140
maeglag 148
mael 148
modraneht 158
môdrige 203
nëfa, 219
rif 114, 188
rift 188
riven 188
sib 160, 162
sibling 161, 162
sibsum 161
sife 162
sinhiv 126
snora 226
suhterja 232
suhtorfaedera 232
sunu 221
sweger 231
sweor 231
tâcor 236
team 115
teman 115, 127
Thryat 181
treowscipe 179
treoþ 179
treoþian 179
tymen 115, 127, 156
ungesibsum 161
vaifjan 192, 194
vaefan 192, 194
vifian 189
wedlac 227
wick 190
wifgal 197
wiflag 195
wifung 195
wifþing 195
wifþegn 125
wefan 192

OLD SAXON

buîda 186
drohting 184
druht 183
druhting 184
fadar 205
fôdian 206, 207
fraho 174
fuddan 206, 208
gat 152, 153
gigado 154
gitrost 179
liku 133
maal 148
triuwiston 179
suiri 231
swâsman 122

OLD FRIESIAN

âdum 223
bâs 217
ben 140
benenaburch 140
bern 140
berninghe 140
boaste 216
bodel 186
boesen 216
boostgjan 216
boste 216
bostigia 216
budel 186
dracht 183, 184
drusta 183
em 215
fadera 209
fatherum 210
feder 205
federia 209
fedria 210
feté 217
fetha 210
friond 167
friuene 167
frudelf 167
gâmêch 139
ham 128
heia 126
heive 126
hem 128
hine 126
hionen 126
hyneghe 126
hyske 126
ketil 152
liaf 175
liodgarda 128
mach 139
mec 140
mecbref 140
mêch 139
medder 203
meker 140
metrika 140
moye 203
quik 194
swâger 231
swesbedde 122
tâm 115

triuwa 179
widwe 237
winnasonge 133

ENGLISH

bachelor 130
bairn (*Scot.*) 139
beget 153
believe 176
bird 120
birth 121
boss 217
bower 185
breed 119
bride 118, 119, 121
brood 119
brother 120, 121
byre 186
caress 178
chamber 178
charity 178
churl 189
churn 189
conversation (*O.E.*) 146
cousin 235
cover 192
coverture 198
dad 208
daughter 222
drag 183
dug 223
fare 159
feeder 205, 207
fertile 120
fill 207
fodder 204
free 171, 172, 174
freedom 171
freeman 172
freethinker 173
friend 167
friendship 241
fry 166, 174
garth 158
gat 115
gate 152
gather 153, 156
generation 113
generosity 135
generous 135
genius 135
giving away 138
goat 115
god (*O.E.*) 161, 214
godeman (*O.E.*) 161
godfather 214
godmother 214
godsib (*O.E.*) 161
good 155
goodfather (*Scot.*) 230
goodman 161
goodmother (*Scot.*) 230
gossip 161, 211, 214
grace 178
gratitude 178
grits 149
hag 130
hagasted (*Scot.*) 129
ham 128, 136
haugh (*Scot.*) 129
haw 129
hind 126
hive 125, 126, 127, 241
home 128, 136
hure-queyn (*Shet. I.*) 114
husband 163, 190
intercourse (*O.E.*) 146
kendle (*Scot.*) 113
kettle 152
kid 115
kin 115, 154, 160, 163
kine 114, 127
kind 134, 135, 144, 168, 172
kindle 135
kindliness 135
kindred 160
king 116
kith 115, 134
kittie (*Scot.*) 115
knee 117
knight 115
know, known 118, 135
kyte (*Scot.*) 115
law 128
lay 128, 133
leman 233
libertine 173
lie 128
love 175, 241
lust 175
maid 139, 140
make 138, 139
mamma 202, 203
man 190
mate 140
matter 199
may 197
meal 146
mother 196, 198, 199
mould 200
moulder 200
mud 199
mudder 199
neighbour 241
nobility 135
outspanning 173
parent 206
pasture 205
quake 194
quëan 173
quean (*Scot.*) 114
quenie (*Scot.*) 114
queyn (*Scot.*) 114
queen 113, 114, 116, 117
quick 194
ram 123
sect 161
sepoy 162
sept 161
sieve 162
sip 162
sister 121, 122
son 162, 221
sow 221
spinster 130
spoon 148
spousals 138
sup 162
swine 162
swing 194
team 115, 127, 156
teem 115
throne 179
tide 236
tread 182
tree 178
Trot, Dame 181
troth 179, 182
trow 179
true 178, 182
truth 179, 182
unkind 134, 135, 144, 168, 172
wave, 194
weave 194
wedding 138
wedlock 227
whore 178, 227
wide 237
widow 237
widower 237
wife 190, 192
win 134
winsome 134, 172
woman 192, 193
yard 158

SCANDINAVIAN

O.N. = Old Norse
N. = Norse
L. = Landsmaal
D. = Danish
S. = Swedish
barn (*N.*) 140
bas (*N.*) 217
besvogre sig (*D.*) 162
brûdsäng (*S.*) 133

brur (*L.*) 119, 120, 121
bu (*N.*), 186
bu, bua (*L.*) 186
búa (*N.*) 186
búi (*N.*) 186
bygd (*N.*) 187
bygderet (*N.*) 187
bygdeting (*N.*) 187
bygge (*N.*) 187
bylag (*N.*) 187
bør (*D.*) 140
børn (*D.*) 140
daegge (*D.*) 222
däggja (*S.*) 222
dôttir (*O.N.*) 222
dronning (*D.*) 183
drost (*D.*) 183
drôtt (*O.N.*) 183
drôttinn (*O.N.*) 183
drôttning (*O.N.*) 183
drottning (*S.*) 183
fadder (*D.*) 210
faster (*N.*) 216
Fensal (*O.N.*) 198
föda (*S.*) 207
fœða (*O.N.*) 207
föde (*D.*) 207
fraendi (*O.N.*) 167
fränka (*S.*) 168
fraeundkona (*S.*) 168
Fraujô (*O.N.*) 168
Freyja (*O.N.*) 168, 174
Freyr (*O.N.*) 174
fri (*O.N.*) 166
fria (*O.N.*) 166
friantr (*O.N.*) 167
Frigg (*O.N.*) 168
friðill (*O.N.*) 166
fridla (*L.*) 166
frie (*D.*) 166
frille (*D.*) 166
frö (*S.*) 166
Frowâ (*O.N.*) 168, 170
frû (*N.*) 174
Frû (*O.N.*) 168
fuð (*N.*) 208
fuð (*O.N.*) 208
gad (*O.N.*) 152
gamahalus (*O.S.*) 146
gänta (*S.*) 225
gat (*L.*) 152
gate (*L.*) 152
gato (*L.*) 152
gatu (*L.*) 152
geit (*O.N.*) 115
genta (*O.N.*) 225
gift (*D.*) 138
giftung (*D.*) 138
gjenta (*L.*) 225
godi (*O.N.*) 214
golf (*O.N.*) 212
grautr (*O.N.*) 149
hag (*O.N.*) 130, 131
hag (*L.*) 131
hi, hij (*N.*) 123
hjon (*L.*) 127
hjuna (*L.*) 127
husman (*N.*) 163
hôra (*O.N.*) 227
hyra (*L.*) 134
hyrr (*O.N.*) 134
jente (*N.*) 225
kallbjörn (*L.*) 189
karl (*O.N.*) 189
karlfugl (*O.N.*) 189
katil (*N.*) 152
kone (*N.*) 116
kongr (*N.*) 116
konr (*O.N.*) 116
konungr (*N.*) 116
kvarnkall (*N.*) 189
kund (*O.N.*) 116
kundr (*O.N.*) 116
leik, leike (*L.*) 133
leikestova (*L.*) 133
leikfugl (*L.*) 133
leikvoll (*L.*) 133
leikr (*O.N.*) 133
lov (*D.*) 128
mâgr (*O.N.*) 139
mâgr (*S.*) 139, 225
maka, make (*S.*) 140
maki (*O.N.*) 140
mâl (*O.N.*) 148
mäla (*O.S.*) 146
moed'gin (*O.N.*) 199
moed'gna (*O.N.*) 199
mögr (*O.N.*) 139
mor (*N.*) 189
mor (*L.*) 199
neti (*O.N.*) 219
nepi (*O.N.*) 219
nift (*O.N.*) 219
qvân (*O.N.*) 113, 116
qvidr (*O.N.*) 115
qvon (*O.N.*) 116
rjupekall (*L.*) 189
seppi (*O.N.*) 162
sif (*O.N.*) 162
sifi (*O.N.*) 160
sifjar (*O.N.*) 160
sift (*O.N.*) 160
sift (*N.*) 161
sifjungr (*O.N.*) 161
sivjung (*L.*) 161
sive (*D.*) 162
sonr (*O.N.*) 221
svaer (*S.*) 231
svära (*S.*) 228
sväradotter (*S.*) 224
svärafader (*S.*) 224
sväramoder (*S.*) 224
sver (*O.N.*) 228, 231
sviru (*O.N.*) 228
svoger (*D.*) 231
svoger (*S.*) 224
syr (*O.N.*) 221
systkin (*D.*) 122
syvja seg (*L.*) 162
søskende (*L.*) 122
Thrûdr (*O.N.*) 180
-thrudr (*O.N.*) 180
trae (*D.*) 179
traust (*O.N.*) 179
trottsät (*S.*) 183
trû (*O.N.*) 179
trûa (*O.N.*) 179
trûleikr (*O.N.*) 179
þegn (*O.N.*) 187
veddjan (*N.*) 102, 138
ven (*N.*) 167
vinna (*O.N.*) 134
veifa (*O.N.*) 193

Teutonic Roots

bau-, bu- 184 242
ei- 224
fri- 160, 166, 171, 174, 175
gad- 155
hag- 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 148, 155, 156, 164
har- 227
heg-, hŷg- 123, 124, 127, 132
hi-, hij-, hiw- 101, 123, 124, 128, 132, 134, 149, 166
kan-, kŷn-, kin-, kei- 113, 115, 117, 118, 132, 135, 139
lob- 176
lus- 175
ma- 146
mal- 157, 236
mah-, mag- 138, 160
sib- 160, 161, 162, 163
svas- 232
svekr- 229, 232, 233
swang- 194
trew- 178
win- 134

Gothic

aiþei 131
atta 131
ava 215
bauains 185

bruthfaths 218
bruths 119
brunsts 113
daddjan 222
dauhtar 222
fadreins 210
fatán 204†
-faths 218
fodeins 204
fodjan 204
fôdjan 206
fodr 207
frauja 174
fraiv 166
frijôn 166
frijondia 166
frijônds 167
frijôns 166, 167
frijaþva 166
gabauan 185
gabaur 185
gabaurjaba 185
gabaurjoþus 185
gadiliggs 154
gadraúhts 183
gaits 115
galubs 175
gamalvidans 149
gasibjon 161
gudja 214
haimis 128
haw- 124
heivan 124
heivafrauja 124
hôrs 178, 227
katilo 152
kilþei 194
kunsþs 118
laikan 132
laikirs 132
magaþs 139
magus 139
malandeins, 149
malvjan 149
mat 200
mavi 139
mégs 139, 225
nipþjis 219
niþjo 219
qiþuhafts 115
qiþus 115
qveins 113
sibja 160
sidus 232
sifan 160
siponeis 163
snivan 226
sunus 221
svaihra 228
svaihro 228
sves 232
trauan 179
triu 179
ufbauljan 185
unhultho 182
unsibis 161
us-þriutan 182
veihs 190
viduvô 237

OLD HIGH GERMAN

amme 204
anâ 204
ano 204
basa 216
bigatten 153
bigitan 153
bôsam 216
brio 121
bruoder 120
bruotan 119, 120
prût 119
prutigomo 196
brütisang
brutsamana 159
brûtsunu 119
brûten 119
bûari 186
pûr 185
crioz 149
cutti 115
for *ch*, see *k*
for *d*, see *t*
einkunne 113, 115, 117
enenkel 220
Erlfrôwa 170
fadar 205
fâra 160
fasel 188
fasel 206
fataro 209
feldbûarí 187
fôtar 204, 207
fôten 204
fôtjan 206
Frea 168
Fria 168
Frija 168
friantscafida 167
frawi 172, 174
frawida 174
fridu 172
friduding 174
friedel 174
friedela 174
friedila 166
friheit 172
frôwâ 174
friudalin 166
friudil 166
vriunt 167
friunte 168
vriunte 171
friuntin 168
friuntscaf 167
frô 174, 241
fuoten 204
vuoter 207, 208
vûten 204
vûter 204
cadum 152
gabur 186
gabura 186
gagat 154
gaiz 115
gamahaljan 149
gamahhida 142, 143, 154, 156, 160, 182, 219, 241
gamahho 143
gamahhida 241
gasamani 159
gasibba 161
gasibbo 161
gaswio 231
gatalinga 153, 154
gataro 156
kataro 156
gate 154
katilinga 153, 154, 156, 182
gatilinge 241
katriuuete 179, 183
gatulina 154
gavatera 210
gavatero 210
gawona 134
geburo 186
gebusamen 216
gegate 154
ze gehienne 125
kehigenden 125
kehiginnis 125
kehiten 125
gehiton 125
gemâgeda 139
gemahlîh 143, 144
gesemene 159
kesemene 159
gesemine 159
geswëster 121
getelos 154
giella 197
gimacha 144
gimachide 143
gimacho 143
gimageda 142
gimah 134
gimmahhida, 143
gimahi 143
gimahide 143

gimahido 143
girî 178
giridi 178
gisibbe 160
givatarum 211
gomo 195
gota 214
gôtkunni 135
gotele 214
goting 214
goto 214
götta 214
hag 173, 178
hagastalt 129, 130, 156
hagazusa 130, 131
hagetissa 156
hagespraka 137
hagezissa 130, 131
hagjan 128
hâzusa 130, 131
haien 128
haigen 128
hefhanna 204
hî 169
hîbar 125
hîbarig 125
hîberg 125, 148
hien 125
hifuoga 125
hig 169
hige 169
hîgot 125
hîhun 125, 156
hijan 124
hileih 132, 136, 137, 138, 158, 159, 177, 178
himâchari 125
hîrat 132, 137, 138, 148, 158, 172
hîsaz 125
hîstat 148
hîtat 125
hiunka 125
hiuri 134
hiwa 125, 163, 166, 168
hîwe 169
hiwelich 125
hîwen 125, 127
hiwo 125, 166, 167
hîwunga 160
Hornung 158
hornunge 158
href 188
huora 178, 227
hûswirt 195
idis 131
inburro 186
itis 131
char 189
charal 195
charala 189
charalon 189
karl 189
katero 152
keili 197
chena: *see* chone
keran 189
chêran 189
chezil 152
kida 115
chînan 113
chizi 115
chone, kone 113, 114, 116, 117, 139, 164
kunni 115, 116, 117, 241
kuninck, chunning 116, 117, 205
kunniling 116
kunnischaft 116
kunnizala 116
lantbûari 187
laz 174
lazza 174
lehtar 188
ligan 188
Liutfrôwa 170
liutgasameni 159
mâc, mâch 138, 139, 140, 142, 168
mâcscaf 139, 241
mâg 138, 139, 140, 142, 151, 167
magidi 139
mâgiu 139
magon 139
mâh: *see* mâc
mahal 148, 151, 155, 157, 158, 172, 187, 242
mahaljan 145, 149
mahalôn 149
mâk: *see* mâc
mâl 146: *see* mahal
malan 149
mâlôn 149
mome 202
multra 200
mumbling 203
muomunsuni 203
muotar 196
muoterjâ 203
nefo 219
nift 219
ôheim 215
quiti, quid 115
quena, qvîna: *see* chona
sib 162, 224, 241
sibba, sibbu 161
sibbo 160
sibja 165, 182
sîp 160
sippa 160
sippia 160
sipzal 161
siptzal 161
situ 118
snur 226
sporkelmaand 159
stiuffater 230
su- 221
sunu 221
swangar 194
swâseline 233
swâsenede 233
swâsman 233
swëher 228
sweiga 231
swengen 194
swestarkarl 189
swigar 228
swio 231
tohtar 222
treuwa 179, 223
trewa 241
triuuva 179, 182
triuwen 179
trôst 179, 182
trostjan 180
truhsâze 183
truht 183
truthigomo 184
truhtin 183
truhtinc 184
trust 179
trustis 179, 182
drût, trût 180
-trut 180
Trut- 180
trûtin 180
trutinna 180
trûtliet 180
drûtman 180
trûtscapht 180
trutz 182
unfriuntscaf 167
ungamahlih 143
ungehite 125
ungehiwat 125
unsibja 161
unsipbi wîp 163
unwini 134
vîp 192: *see also* f
wânbrût 119
weban 194
weibôn 192, 193
wifman 192, 193
windesprût 119
wini 134
winiâ 134
winileod 133, 136, 158, 178

winiscaf 134
wîpheit 193
wirt 195
witawâ 237
wân 134
zeihhur 236
zeman 115, 156
zoum 115

MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

briezen 119
briute 119, 120
brôz 119
pruoter 120
brût 119, 120
eide 132
eidam 224
degen 187
feteron 209
fleischgadem 153
Frauentanz 133
friunde 167 : *see also* v
gadem 152
gademer 153
gadengericht 155
gadenrichter 155
gat 152, 153
gater, getter 156
gattlich 154
gehiure 134
germâc 142
getelich 154
getelos 154
geswester 122
geswie 231
geswige 231
gott 214
gottin 214
göttlein 214
hagetisse 133 (see *O.H.G.*)
haglig 134
hayngarten 128, 411
hegemâl 148
hileih 133, 136 (see *O.H.G.*)
hiwe, hie 125, 139 (see *O.H.G.*)
Kaisergaden 155 : *see* Appendix I.
kinen 113
kon, kone 116
konemâc 116
koneman 195
koning 116
künig, chönig 116
kueniginne 142
kunne 114, 117
kunkelmâc 142
liep 175
magad 139
magan, 139
magat 139
mage 141
mahal 145 (see *O.H.G.*)
mahalberg 145
mahalbrunnen 145
mahalscaz 145
mahalstat 145
mahaltag 145
mâl 148, 151
mâlgeld 146
milchvriedel 166
mulde 200
muotermâc 142
nagelmâc 168
nagelvriunt 168
nëve 219
nëveschaft 219
niftelîn 219
ôheim 215
pfaffenbrût 119
pfaffenkühe 114
pfaffenkunnen 114, 117
quëc 194
sibbe 163 (see *O.H.G.*)
sibsam 172
sip 162
spindelmâc 142
swâger 231
swëher 228
swer 228
swertmâc 142
triuten 180
truhten 183
truhtsaeze 183
trut, trute 180
trûten 180
trûtfriunt 180
trûtgespielîn 180
trûtgemahele 180
trutschel 180
unsippe 161
vasel 188, 206
vatermâc 142
vergaterung, 155, 242, 243
vetero 209
vri 172
vrien 166
vriunde 168
vriunge 173
vriunt 167
vriuntschaft 168
vrum 172
vuotarwanne 208
vut 208
vûten 206 (*see also* f)
wif 192, 193
witewe 237

GERMAN

ahn 204
ahne 220
amme 203, 204
bann 173
bärmutter 198
base 216, 217
bäseln 217
baserei 217
bauen 186
bauer (i) 185
bauer (ii) 186
baum 184
bedecken 198
befriedigung 172
begatten 153, 154
behaglich 134, 144, 168
braut 101, 118, 119 120
brautkauf 138
brautschatz 145
brei 121
bruder 101, 121
brunst 113
brutbiene 120
bruthenne 120
bube 222
buhler 222
buhlgabe 222
buhlgesang 222
burg 164
drude 181
drudenfuss 181
druder 181
ehe 102, 138, 198
ehemann 196, 224
eidam 223, 224
einfriedigung 173
eltern 219
enkeln 219
fotze 208
frau 170, 174, 190
freck 170
frei 170, 171, 174
freiding 172, 174
freien 165, 171, 172
freier 173
freierei 173
freierin 173
freifrau 172
freigeist 173
freigericht 172
freihart 172
freiherr 172
freihof 173
freimann 173
freiort 173
freite 165
freiung 173
freiweib 172

freude 171, 172, 174, 241
freudenhaus 174
freudenkind 174
freudenmädchen 174
freudenmahl 174
freudenspiel 174
freudentanz 174
freuen 160
friede 173, 174, 241
friedhof 173
friedigung 173
froh 170, 174
fud 208
futteral 207
gadem 156
gätlich 172
gatte 154, 156
gatter 156
gattergeld 156
gatterhenne 156
gatterherr 156
gattin 154
gebärmutter 198
gehag 128
gehegtes gericht 148
geheuer 134
geil 197
geilhart 197
geloben 175
gelöbnis 176
gelubde 176
gemach, 144, 153, 178, 185
gemächlich 144, 168, 172
gemächte 142
gemachzaun 156
gemahl 145
gemahlin 145
gericht 148, 173
gevatter 210
gevatterin 210
gewinnen 134
gitter 156
glauben 176
Göding 214
golliard 197
Göttingen 214
grütze 149
gut 155
hag 185
hagegeld 156
hagehenne 156
hagen 128
hagestolz 129
-haglich 134
hain 128
heerführer 163
hegen 128, 173
hegung 173
heim 101, 126, 128
heimlich 122
heirath : *see O.H.G.* hîrât
heirath 101, 137, 140, 149, 160
herzog 163
hexe 130, 131
kaffeebase 217
kaufen 102
keimen 113
kennen 135
kerl 189
kind 135
klatschbase 217
knabe 115, 135
knecht 115
Kornmuhme 202
Kornmutter 199
könig 116, 117, 174
königin 117, 142
kunst 118, 135
lager 173
leich, 132
lieb 175
liebchen 175
liegen 128
loben 175, 176
löffeln 148
lofte 176
machen 138, 200
mädchen 139
maege, 151
magen 138, 139, 154
magenschaft 143
mahl 146
mahlen 148, 150
mählen 148
mahlzeit 146
mal 148
mann 110, 190, 191, 195
mark 148
melken 222
milchen 222
mitgift 138
mode 199
mott 199
mudde 199
muhme 201, 202, 216, 217, 219
muhmenhaus 203
mutter 101
mutterbeschwer 199
mutterland 199
muttersprache 199
mutterwitz, 199
oheim 215
ohmchen 220
pynte 188
Roggenmutter 199
ruthe 188
sau 221
schnur 226
schooskind 159
schössling 159
schwager 224, 230
schwäher 231
schwanger 194
schwängern 194
schwanz 188
schweher 228
schwester 101, 121
schwieger 231
schwiegersohn 224
schwiegertochter, 224
schwiger 228
sibbe 161
sippeln 162
sitte 118, 232, 241
sohn 221
spannen 173
süppen 162
tochter 101, 222
tragen 183
trauen 179
trauung 177
treue 179
truchsess 183
trutenbaum 181
trutenberg 181
trûtennacht 181
Trutte, Frau 181
trutz 182
ungehener 134
unholde 182
vater 101
vergaderung 155, 157
vergatten 153
vergatterung 155
verloben 176
verlobung 175, 176, 177
vermählen 145, 154
vermählung 101, 145
vetter 209
wälzen 194
weib 101, 192, 193, 194
Weibermonat 158
weit 237
welle 194
wittwe 101
wohnung 134
zagel 188
zaun 115
zeit 236
zers 188
zisel 188
ziss 131

DIALECTS (SWABIAN, BAVARIAN, TYROLESE, SWISS, ETC.)
basele 216
basl 216

bua 222
bühli 222
bûl 222
drud 181
fél 208
fenstern 146
födel 208
frid 173
fridbann 173
fridhag 173
fridgatter 173
fridzaun 173
friund 167
frunt 168
fud 113
gefride 173
gefüdach 208
gehai 128
gelobtanz 176
gemachmühl 144
gemach'l 144
gemachzaun 144
gemaht 142
gemahti 142
geschwie 231
geschwein 231
geswagerlich 231
geswistrige 141
göd 214
godl 214
gottheit 214
göttenlöffel 214
gsweyen 231
haaggeld 137
haghenne 137
hagsch 130
hai 128
heierlos 410
heimgarten 411
hijgaten 124
kar 189
kiltgang 407-412
kindermachen 138
kund, kunt 118
kundeln 118
kunta 118
lobetanz 176
lôs 113
machen 142
mägdeheyer 124
maelen 146
maellen 149
mahlleute 148
mahlmann 146, 148, 172
mälpfenning 146
mälet 146
mögen 142
mügen 142
obmann 147, 164
rammeln 123
söhnerin 226
schwager 231, 234
schwaig 231
schwaiger 231
schwaigerin 231
schwega 228
schwer 228
tatte 208
tattl 208
teite 208
trud 181
trüttl 181
ungeheit 124
virgatum gehen 155

Low German—Old and Modern

ackermome 202
beswas 122
bruen 120
brüden 120
brühen 120
brümen 119
brûtloft 176
bûr 187
bûrmâl 187
bûrmester 187
bûrrichte 187
bûrschap 187
bûrsprake 187
eselmome 202
fedethom 218
fedriethom 218
frijte 166
gaden 153
gadder 156
gaderheren 155
gat 152, 153, 155
gedelik 154
gevatere 211
grotemome 202
heie 126, 129
hie 126, 129
hienman 126, 129
hige 126, 129
higeman 126, 129
hundemome 202
lovebbĕr 176
moder 199
molt 200
mome 202-3
mum 202
neve 219
nichte 219
nichteke 219
ohm 215
sibbert 161
vade 217
vadder 211
vadderkols 211
vaddersche 211
vadderspel 211
vedder 209
viehmome 202
vorgaddem 154
vorgaden 154
vorgaderung 155, 195, 242
vriundin 168
vrunt 167
vruntelink 167
wasa 216
weidegat 152
wisemome 202

Dutch

baas 217
huwbaer 125
huwen 125
maet 140
neef 219
swâger 231
swâseline 122
swâsenede 122
trowen 179
vâde 218
vriend 167
vrijen 166
widewe 237

Slavonic

aũ̂ta (*Lith.*) 229
brati (*O.S.*) 121
bratsvo (*O.S.*) 164
dëveris (*Lith.*) 236
dráudse (*Lett.*) 183
dráudsiba (*Lett.*) 183
draũgalka (*Lith.*) 183
draũgé (*Lith.*) 183
dráugs (*Lett.*) 183
drevo (*O.S.*) 178
driútas (*Lith.*) 182
druginja (*Russ.*) 183
drugu (*Russ.*) 183
drugu (*O.S.*) 183
druh (*Czech*) 183
druha (*Czech*) 183
druzha (*Pol.*) 183
druzny (*Czech*) 183
gente (*Lith.*) 225, 234
geseppe (*Czech*) 162
gesippe (*Pruss.*) 162
gesoppe (*Czech*) 161
gesuppe (*Czech*) 162
grada (*O.S.*) 164
grauds (*Lett.*) 149
iatrew (*Pol.*) 235
jatrev (*Czech*) 235
jetry (*O.S.*) 234

jetrva (*Serb.*) 235
kârôt (*Lett.*) 177
kârs (*Lett.*) 177
knez (*O.S.*) 164
kochati (*O.S.*) 177
krâlj (*O.S.*) 189
krol (*O.S.*) 189
ljub (*O.S.*) 175
ljuba (*O.S.*) 175
maczernica (*Oberl.*) 197
matka (*Russ.*) 197
móté (*Lith.*) 201
po-sivu (*O.S.*) 134
Prije (*Czech*) 168
pritel (*Czech*) 166
prove (*Wend.*) 171
sȧ-logu (*O.S.*) 130
salûba (*O. Pruss.*) 177
sébras (*Lith.*) 162
sebru (*O.S.*) 162
seserynai (*Lith.*) 235
sëwa (*Lett.*) 125
snacha (*Czech*) 226
supûni (*O. Pruss.*) 163
svatu (*O.S.*) 233
svëkoru (*Russ.*) 228, 232
svekovi (*Russ.*) 232
svekru (*O.S.*) 228
svoja (*O.S.*) 233
svojack (*Russ.*) 232
svotai (*Lith.*) 233
swiekier (*Pol.*) 228
synocha (*O.S.*) 226
synowa (*Pol.*) 226
szesziuras (*Lith.*) 228
tata (*Czech*) 208
vedù (*Lith.*) 227
vëszpatis (*Lith.*) 190
vidova (*O.S.*) 237
visi (*O.S.*) 190
voditi (*O.S.*) 227
vozdi (*O.S.*) 227
wadóti (*Lith.*) 227
wedekle (*Lith.*) 227
zelva (*Czech*) 234
źentas (*Lith.*) 225
zluva (*O.S.*) 234
župa (*O.S.*) 163
župan (*O.S.*) 163, 164, 172, 205
županus (*O.S.*) 164
župnik (*O.S.*) 163
župone (*Lith.*) 163
župpa (*O.S.*) 164

WORDS IN APPENDICES I., III., AND IV.

Aryan

nu-, nud- 429
rag-, rez- 426

Sanskrit

nand 429
râjan 426
rej 427

Greek

ὀργάδες 428
ὀργάς 426, 428
ὀργάω 428
ὀργεών 428
ὀργεώνη 428
ὀργή 428
ὀρέγω 426

Latin

cultus 425
erigo 426, 428
regere 426
rex 426
sulcus 424
vomer 424

Celtic

rhi (*Welsh*) 426
rhiant (*Welsh*) 426
rhiain (*Welsh*) 427
rí (*Irish*) 427
rig (*Gaelic*) 427
rigan (*Irish*) 426

Anglo-Saxon

beneotan 429
cveld 412
genéat 430
giniedôn 430
neód 430
niotan 429
rîce 426
wifþing 412

Friesian

nieta 429
niod 429
not 429

English

plough 425
reach 427
regal 427
rich 427
rig 428
rigge 428
right 427
righten 427
tilth 425

Scandinavian

benytte (*D.*) 429
kelta (*Icel.*) 412
kilta (*S.*) 412
kveld (*O.N.*) 412
naut (*L.*) 429
nautna (*O.N.*) 429
nautr (*O.N.*) 430
neyta (*Icel.*) 429
niota (*O.N.*) 429
njota (*Icel.*) 429
nyde (*S.*) 429
nyt (*O.N.*) 429
nytte (*D.*) 429
ragna (*O.N.*) 428
rätt (*S.*) 427
regin (*O.N.*) 428
ret (*D.*) 427
rett (*O.N.*) 427
rett (*L.*) 427
rettr (*O.N.*) 427
rige (*D.*) 426
riki (*O.N.*) 426

Teutonic Root

rak-, rag- 426

Gothic

ganiutan 429
kilthei 412

reiki 426
reiks 426
reiran 427
reks 426
niutan 429
nuta 429

Old High German

chwiltiwerch 412
ganôz 430
ganôzinna 430
ganôzon 430
ganôzsami 430
ganôzsamon 430
ganôzscaf 430, 431
gart 411
hayngart 411, 426
hîleih 410
huskinôzi 430
kastalt 427
kinôz 430
kinôzsam 430
niot 429
niotsam 430
niozan 429
nutz 429
rîhhi 426
unganôz 430
unganôzami 430

Middle High German

brôtgenossen 431
genieze 430
genôze 430
genôzinne 430
hägeri 427
hegerding 427
hegermanni 427
heigertanz 410
niezen 429
rey 427
reye 427
reyge 427
ungenôz 430

German

buhllieder 411
eidgenossen 430
furche 424
genieszen 429, 430
genieszung 430
genossenschaft 430, 431
genusz 430, 432
gericht 427
hag 427
hagestolz 427
heger 427
mailehn 407-409
markgenossen 431
nützen 429
pflügen 424
reich 426
reige 427
reihe 427

German Dialects

alpgenossen 431
bühli 408
fastenbühli 408
fenstern 409, 410
fryggeding 432
fugen 409
gässlein gên 409, 410
gnuss 432
gungelstube 409
heierleis 410
heimal 432
heimgarten 411
hochstube 411
karz 409
kilt 409, 412
kiltbraten 410
kiltgang 407, 412
Kirmes 408
kunkelstube 409
lehntgen-rufen 407
letze 410
lichtstube 409
mitgenössig 430
rockenstube 409
spinnstube 409
ungenössig 430
weidgenossen 431

Low German

geneten 432
genôt 430
rëen 428
rege 427
reien 428
reige 427

Dutch

boelkin 408
genoot 430
gheck 408
heelghesel 408

Lithuanian

kiltis 412
naudà 429
panústi 429

INDEX II.—NAMES AND SUBJECTS

ABYSSINIANS, fertility of i. 85
Acquoy, "Het Klooster te Windesheim" ii. 371 ftn.
Adam, legend of ii. 201
Addison, "The Bills of Mortality" i. 19
Adoratio Crucis ii. 293-295
Advantage of the bank (Monte Carlo roulette) i. 47
Agamemnon ii. 58, 107
ἀγορά ii. 157-158, 242, 411
Agriculture: *see* Goddess of
Ainos, mean and standard deviation, of cephalic index i. 290; of long bones i. 303; of skull capacity i. 340
Alabastor, "Wheel of the Law" ii. 323 ftn.
Alaskans, fertility of i. 85
Aleutians, fertility of i. 85
Alteneck, "Trachten des Mittelalters" ii. 264 ftn., 391 ftn.
Altorfer ii. 386 ftn., 389 ftn.
Amalungs, the ii. 107 ftn.
Americans, children, mean and standard deviation, of stature i. 296; of body weight i. 307; of chest girth i. 310; of height sitting, of squeeze of hands i. 314; of head index i. 359
Ammon, *O.*, "Die natürliche Auslese beim Menschen" i. 132 ftn., 288 ftn.
Amphimixis, Weismann's theory of i. 104
Amtmannspiel ii. 146
Anaitis ii. 150, 170
Andamanese, mean and standard deviation, of cephalic index i. 290, 370; of skull capacity i. 343
Angels, dance of ii. 337-339, 428 ftn.
Angle, alveolar, mean and standard deviation of i. 324, 325
Angle, profile, mean and standard deviation of i. 323
Anglo-Saxons, mean and standard deviation, of cephalic index i. 290; of skull capacity i. 335
Anstell, *C.*, "Rate of Mortality" i. 92
Apaturia, the ii. 122
Arnsteiner Marienleich ii. 182 ftn., 356 ftn.
Ars Moriendi ii. 330, 332, 340 ftn.
Artemis ii. 122, 157
Aryans, primitive ii. 98, 101
Aschenputtel ii. 146: *see* Askelad
Ashiepattle ii. 51-91, 107, 236: *see* Askelad
Askelad (or *Dummling*) ii. 76, 77, 87, 89
Astarte ii. 170
Athene ii. 131, 157
Atom i. 152
Atom, prime i. 154, 385
Aunt, words for ii. 201, 216
Australians, fertility of i. 85; mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 370

BACCHUS ii. 222
Bachelor ii. 130
Bachofen, "Die Sage von Tanaquil" ii. 110 ftn., 131, 202
Badensians, *Modern*, mean and standard deviation, of face index i. 326; of cephalic index i. 356
Bairn ii. 140
Bale, *John* ii. 403 ftn.
Balfour, *Arthur J.*, "Foundations of Belief," criticism of i. 173-225, 382
Baptism, heathen ii. 213
Barton, *E. R.*, measurements of Whitechapel skulls i. 351
Bartsch, *K.*, "Germania" ii. 376 ftn.
Base, aunt, idea associated with ii. 217
Bauer, its derivation ii. 184

Bavarians, mean and standard deviation, of alveolar i. 324; of brain weight i. 322; of cephalic index i. 290, 354; of eyes i. 327; of roundness of forehead i. 326; of skull capacity i. 333; of skull circumference i. 356; of stature i. 295
Bechstein, "Wartburg Bibliothek" ii. 339 ftn.
Bedouins, fertility of i. 85
Belgians, mean and standard deviation of weights of new-born infants i. 307
Benedictus Levita, prohibition of dancing in churches ii. 17
Bengal, Brahmans of, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290
Mahomedans of Eastern, mean and standard deviation, of cephalic index i. 290; of head index i. 289 ftn.
Southals of Western, mean and standard deviation of head index i. 289 ftn.
Beowulf ii. 186
Berchta, goddess of fruition ii. 28, 29, 106
Bern, dance of death i. 7
Berthold, Brother ii. 213
Bertrand i. 62
Biblia Pauperum ii. 265, 266
Bil (tribal-mother of the Billings) ii. 107 ftn.
Birlinger, "Aus Schwaben" ii. 338 ftn., 410 ftn.
Bischoff i. 285, 295 ftn., 306, 322
Blanc, M. i. 45, 57
Blois, swiftness of, mean and standard deviation of i. 311
Bones, long, mean and standard deviation of i. 299-305
Boniface ii. 213
Bonner, "Life of Bradlaugh" i. 380
Bopp ii. 118, 122, 229
Boyd (statistics of weight of hearts) i. 285 ftn., 320
Bradlaugh, C. i. 189
Breviarium Frisingense ii. 300 ftn.
Breviarius Havelbergensis ii. 297 ftn., 300 ftn.
Bride ii. 118, 148 ftn., 177
Brigit (Celtic tribal-mother) ii. 107 ftn.
British, ancient, mean and standard deviation, of cephalic index i. 290, 363; of skull capacity i. 337
Broca (statistics) i. 285 ftn., 329, 330, 352
Brooms (as symbols of witch) ii. 23, 29, 30
Brooms, offerings of ii. 20
Brother, as the breeder ii. 120, 121
Brother-in-law ii. 230, 232, 236
Brother-sister marriage **ii. 104, 121, 123, 169, 174, 219**
Brueil **(bones at) i. 298**
Brüggermann, H. **ii. 318 ftn.**
Brunnenfege**, feast of the ii. 41**
Bucher **ii. 181**
Büchner **i. 152, 188, 380**
Burgkmair **ii. 386 ftn.**
Burial-service **ii. 201**
Bushmen**, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290**

CANARIES, ancient inhabitants of the, mean and standard deviation of femur i. 301
Capacity, breathing, mean and standard deviation of i. 311
Capacity, skull, mean and standard deviation of i. 285 ftn., 328-349
Card-drawing, diagram of i. 13
Carmina Burana: see Schmeller
Carpenter, E., "Woman" i. 258 ftn.
Cat, the attendant on mother-goddess ii. 167
Celibates, words for ii. 129
Cellini, Benvenuto, vision of ii. 326, 366
Celts, early ii. 107
Cephalic Index: see *Index*
Cerealia ii. 171
Chalceia, the ii. 122
Champollion-Figeac: see Hilarius
Chance, association of death and i. 2
,, ,, dice and i. 2
Diagram of games of i. 13
General principles of theory of i. 11
Lord Salisbury's appeal to i. 167, 168
Mediæval conception of, as chaotic i. 2
Modern conception of, as obedient to law i. 2
Scientific conception of i. 43
Charity, evolution of ii. 178
Charles, R. Havelock, "Craniometry of the Outcaste Tribes of the Panjab" i. 341, 368
Chaucer ii. 150
Children-in-law, words for ii. 224
Chinese, mean and standard deviation, of cephalic index i. 290, 350; of skull capacity i. 342
Chorus, its association with feast, religious ceremony, and staked inclosure ii. 136, 158, 411
Christ, as portrayed in the passion-plays ii. 329, 330, 349
Chuhras, Lahore, mean and standard deviation of head index i. 289 ftn.
Civilisation of Women, early ii. 97, 130, 170, 240

Clendinning (statistics) i. 316, 320, 321
Coin-tossing, diagram of i. 13
Collins, F. Howard (statistics) i. 69, 73, 76, 88, 92
Comedy, its origin ii. 136
Constants, variation of fertility i. 67
Correlation, as a measure of heredity i. 63, 65
Correlation between fertility and size of an organ i. 65
Co-sexual Community, words applied to ii. 138 *et seq.*
Cosmic process, Huxley's contrast with ethical process i. 110, 122
Cotta, on good and bad witches ii. 11
Council, Group ii. 126, 137, 155, 158, 173
Counter-drawing, diagram of i. 13
Courtship, as fossil of sexual freedom ii. 165
Coussemaker, E. de, "Drames Liturgiques" ii. 302 ftn.
Couvade ii. 105
Cranach, ii. 262 ftn., 263, 331 ftn., 346 ftn., 386 ftn., 391 ftn.
Crania Britannica i. 335-338, 362-365
Germaniae i. 325, 355, 356, 361
Helvetica i. 291, 336, 360, 361
Criticism, Sectarian i. 379-388
Cruelty, element of, in mother-goddess ii. 106
Curtius ii. 131

Dame Trot ii. 181
Dances and Jingles, children's ii. 95, 115
Dances, bacchanalian, of women ii. 105, 133, 427, 428; St. Lawrence and Whitsuntide ii. 176; symbolic, in passion-plays ii. 339-343, 428
Dancing, choral ii. 105, 109, 133, 135, 136, 157, 165, 428
Dante, reference to dice i. 2
Darwin, "Animals and Plants under Domestication" i. 157 ftn. 258; "Descent of Man" i. 128, 129; "Origin of Species" i. 106, 107, 128
Daughter ii. 222
Daughter-in-law ii. 225; endogamous and exogamous terms ii. 228
David, Gerard ii. 391 ftn.
Davies, "Rites of the Cathedral of Durham" ii. 296 ftn.
Davis, Barnard, "Thesaurus Craniorum" i. 328, 329, 335, 342, 350, 353
Davis, J. H. (statistics) i. 38
Death, Chances of i. 1-41; Dance of i. 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, 25, 39, 41, ii. 270 ftn.; goddess of ii. 168, 175, 200
Deecke ii. 100, 101, 102, 118, 148, 153, 155, 162, 192, 204
Demeter ii. 122, 150, 170, 171, 193, 199, 202
Denmark, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index of Aborigines of Sweden and i. 365
Deviation, Standard, as concentration of frequency about the mean i. 17, 18, 50, 262
standard deviation of standard i. 52
Devil, as represented in the passion-plays ii. 357-359
Devil's mother ii. 27, 202, 371
Devils, dance of ii. 337-339
De Whalley, L. G. (statistics) i. 45, 48, 49, 53, 55, 56
Dice i. 2, 11, 12; diagram i. 13
Didron, "Iconographie chrétienne" ii. 261, 329 ftn., 330 ftn., 332 ftn., 376 ftn., 385 ftn., 388 ftn., 391 ftn.
Dietrich ii. 386 ftn.
Dionysian sex-festival ii. 159
Diphtheria, curve of i. 33
Distribution of frequency, law of i. 14, 15
Dôn ii. 108
Drude ii. 181
Du Bois-Reymond, "Maupertuis" i. 225
Ducange ii. 164, 211, 212, 235
Duckworth, W. L. H. (statistics) i. 370
Du Méril, "Origines latines du théâtre moderne" ii. 288 ftn., 304 ftn.
Dummling: see *Askelad*
Durandus, "Rationale divinorum Officiorum" ii. 295 ftn.
Dürer, A. ii. 260-263, 310 ftn., 321 ftn., 326 ftn., 329 ftn., 340 ftn., 341 ftn., 346, 347, 352, 371, 372 ftn., 386 ftn., 391 ftn., 393 ftn.
Dutch, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 354
Dyer, H. "Evolution of Industry" i. 226 ftn.

Ecker, "Crania Germaniae" i. 325, 355, 356
Edda ii. 132, 142, 151, 160, 169
Egyptians, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 366
Eleusinia ii. 171
Elevatio Crucis ii. 295-299
Ellis, Havelock, "Man and Woman" i. 256-266
Elsässer, weights of German babies i. 308
Endogamy, primitive ii. 56, 140, 165, 188; modern ii. 140, 141, 431, 432

English, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 350, 351 ; of body weight i. 305 ; of breathing capacity i. 311 ; of keenness of sight i. 311, 313 ; of left forearm i. 304 ; of skull capacity 328-330 ; of span and stature i. 294, 299 ; of strength of pull i. 311, 313 ; of strength of squeeze i. 311, 313 ; of swiftness of blow i. 311 ; of weight of brain i. 320, 321 ; of weight of heart i. 316
Epistemology, A. J. Balfour's use of word i. 180
Error, mean i. 59
probable i. 76
Ethics, relative ii. 93, 145, 247
Exogamy ii. 56, 215, 236, 244
Exposure of children ii. 212
Eyesight, mean and standard deviation of i. 311, 313

FADDY-DANCE (in Cornwall) ii. 41
Fairy Tales
German—
Allerleirauh ii. 71 (princess a servant) 89, 90 (prince a kitchen lad)
Aschenputtel ii. 83 (religious ceremony at marriage) 84, 85, 88-99 (mother-right)
Brüderchen und Schwesterchen ii. 63 ftn., 72 ftn. (closeness of feeling between brothers and sisters)
Bruder Lustig ii. 73 (influence of women)
Cinderella ii. 84, 85, 86, 89 (perverted version of "Hans seeks his Luck")
Das blaue Licht i. 60 (witch a cave-dweller) 76 ftn. (soldier hero) 79
Das Eselein ii. 76 ftn. (hero a king's son) 79
Das Hirtenbüblein ii. 71
Das Mädchen ohne Hände ii. 67 ftn. (patriarchate) 73 (influence of women)
Das Räthsel ii. 62, 63 (witch evil) 73 (influence of women) 76 (hero a king's son)
Das singende springende Löweneckerchen ii. 72 ftn. (wizard) 82 (kindred group-marriage)
Das tapfere Schneiderlein ii. 75 ftn. (tailor hero) 79
Das Waldhaus ii. 69 (peasant bride)
Das Wasser des Lebens ii. 72 ftn., 76 ftn. (hero a king's son) 79
De beiden Künigeskinner ii. 65
De drei Vugelkens ii. 64, 68, 69
Der arme Mühlerbursch ii. 70 (peasant bridegroom) 73 (influence of women) 76 ftn. (low-born hero)
Der Eisenofen ii. 71, 76 ftn. (hero a king's son)
Der gelernte Jäger ii. 75 ftn. (hunter hero) 79
Der Gevatter Tod ii. 75 ftn. (peasant hero) 79
Der gläserne Sarg ii. 75 ftn. (tailor hero)
Der gute Handel ii. 73 (influence of queen)
Der junge Riese ii. 85 ftn.
Der Königssohn der sich vor nichts fürchtet ii. 73 (influence of women) 75 ftn. (hero a king's son) 83
Der König vom goldenen Berge ii. 71, 73 (influence of women) 75 (mother-right) 76 ftn. (hero lowly) 82 (kindred group-marriage)
Der Krautesel ii. 64 (white witch) 65
Der liebste Roland ii. 63 (witch evil, patriarchate) 82 (kindred group-marriage)
Der Ranzen, das Hütlein, und das Hörnlein ii. 75 ftn. (peasant hero)
Der Räuber und seine Söhne ii. 73 (influence of queen)
Der singende Knochen ii. 75 ftn. (peasant hero)
Der Starke Hans ii. 75 ftn. (hero low-born)
Der süsse Brei ii. 64 (white witch)
Der Teufel mit den drei goldenen Haaren ii. 75 ftn. (peasant hero)
Der treue Johannes ii. 67 ftn. (patriarchate) 83 (religious ceremony at marriage)
Der Trommler ii. 65, 73 (influence of queen) ii. 76 ftn. (hero low born) 83
Der Vogel Greif ii. 68 ftn., 73 ftn. (influence of women) 75 ftn. (low-born hero) 79
Des Teufels russiger Bruder ii. 76 ftn. (soldier hero) 79
Die beiden Wanderer ii. 75 ftn. (tailor hero)
Die Bienenkönigin ii. 76 ftn. (hero a king's son) 79, 82 (kindred group-marriage)
Die drei Federn ii. 69 (peasant bride)
Die drei Schlangenblätter ii. 75 ftn. (mother-right) 79 (peasant hero)
Die drei Spinnerinnen ii. 68 (diligent bride) 73 (influence of queen)

Die Erbsenprobe ii. 73 (influence of queen)
Die Gänsehirtin am Brunnen ii. 61 (matriarchate) 70, 76 ftn. (hero a count)
Die Gänsemagd ii. 65, 70, 71
Die goldene Gans ii. 76 ftn., 80
Die Goldkinder ii. 64
Die kluge Bauerntochter ii. 69 (peasant bride)
Die Nixe am Teich ii. 64 (white witch)
Die Rabe ii. 64 (matriarchate) 76 ftn., 85
Die sechs Diener ii. 65 (queen a witch) 67 (patriarchate, church) 71, 73, 76 ftn. (hero a king's son) 83 (religious ceremony at marriage)
Die sechs Schwäne ii. 63 (closeness of feeling between brothers and sisters) 73 (influence of women)
Die vier kunstreichen Brüder ii. 75 ftn. (peasant hero) 79
Die wahre Braut ii. 64 (white witch) 70, 83 (kindred group-marriage)
Die weisse Schlange ii. 73 (influence of women) 76 ftn. (servant hero) 79
Die weisse und die schwarze Braut ii. 69 (peasant bride)
Die zertanzten Schuhe ii. 76 ftn. (soldier hero) 79, 81 (kindred group-marriage)
Die zwei Brüder ii. 63, 64 (witch evil, hunter) 76 ftn. (hero lowly) 79
Die zwölf Brüder ii. 62 (decay of matriarchal system) 63 ftn. (closeness of feeling between brothers and sisters) 75 (mother-right) 76 ftn. (hero a king's son)
Die zwölf Jäger ii. 73 (influence of women)
Dornröschen ii. 76 ftn. (hero a king's son)
Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein ii. 64 (white witch)
Fitchers Vogel ii. 72 ftn. (wizard)
Froschkönig ii. 60 (witch evil)
Hänsel und Grethel ii. 62 (witch evil)
Hans mein Igel ii. 75 ftn. (hero lowly) 79
Jorinde und Joringel ii. 63 ftn. 83
König Drosselbart ii. 67 ftn. (patriarchate; church)
Märchen von einem der auszog Fürchten zu lernen ii. 75 ftn. (peasant hero) 79
Rapunzel ii. 60 (hostility of witch to new form of marriage)
Rumpelstilzchen ii. 69 (diligent bride)
Schneewittchen ii. 62, 63 (witch evil, patriarchate) 65 (queen a witch)
Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt ii. 76 ftn. (soldier hero)
Spindel, Weberschiffchen und Nadel ii. 64 (white witch) 69 (diligent bride)
Vom klugen Schneiderlein ii. 75 ftn. (tailor hero) 83 (religious ceremony at marriage)

Lapp—
Alder-tree Boy ii. 77 ftn. (hero lowly), 81 (woman heir) 85 ftn.
Family Strong ii. 85
The Boy and the Hare ii. 81 (woman heir)
The Giant-Bird ii. 82 (kindred group-marriage)
The Humane Man and the Angel ii. 72 ftn.
The King and the Louse ii. 71 ftn., 77 ftn. (hero lowly)
The Luck-Bird ii. 72 ftn.
The Silkweaver and her Husband ii. 70 ftn. (peasant bridegroom) 77 ftn. (hero lowly)
The Three Brothers ii. 77 ftn. (hero lowly) 88
The Tschuds and Russaleleaf ii. 82 (kindred group-marriage)
The Tschuds in Sundegjeld ii. 82 (kindred group-marriage)

Norse—
Askeladden, som fik Prindsessen til at løgste sig ii. 71, 77 ftn., 80 (woman heir)
De syv Folerne ii. 77 ftn. (hero Askelad) 78, 80 (woman heir)
De tolv Vildaender ii. 75 ftn. (princess the heir-apparent)
De tre Prindsesser i Hvidtenland ii. 77 ftn. (hero a fisher-lad)
Det blaa Baandet ii. 77 ftn. (hero lowly)
Det har ingen Nød med den, som alle Kvindfolk er forlibt i, ii. 77 ftn. (hero Askelad) 81 (woman heir)
Enkesønnen ii. 77 ftn. (hero lowly) 80 (woman heir)
Fugl Dam ii. 71 ftn., 77 ftn. (hero a king's son) 80 (woman heir)

Grimsborken ii. 72 ftn., 77 ftn. (peasant hero) 80 (woman heir)
Haaken Borkenskjaeg ii. 71
Herreper ii. 77 ftn. (hero lowly) 80 (woman heir)
Jomfruen paa Glasberget ii. 77 ftn. (peasant hero) 80, 87 (woman heir)
Kari Traestak ii. 70
Lillekort ii. 77 ftn. (hero lowly) 80 (woman heir)
Om Askeladden som stjal Troldets Sølvaender Sengeteppe og Guldharpe ii. 77 ftn., 80 (woman heir)
Om Risen, som ikke havde noget Hjerte paa sig ii. 77 ftn. (hero a king's son)
Per og Paal og Esben Askelad ii. 70, 77 ftn., 80 (woman heir)
Rige Per Kraemmer ii. 72 ftn., 77 ftn. (hero a miller's lad) 80 (woman heir)
Soria Moria Slot ii. 71 ftn., 77 ftn. (hero Askelad)
Spurningen ii. 77 ftn. (hero Askelad) 80 (woman heir)
Trog og Utro ii. 70, 77 ftn. (hero lowly) 80 (woman heir)
Vesle Aase Gaasepige ii. 69
Fasciculus Temporum ii. 260, 267 ftn., 325 ftn.
Fastnacht ii. 137
Fastnachtspiele ii. 153, 208
Father, its derivation ii. 205
Father-age ii. 49 : see *Patriarchate*
Father-in-law, names for ii. 228
Father's brother, names for ii. 208
Father's sister, names for ii. 215
February, the month for sex-festivals ii. 158
Femur, mean and standard deviation of i. 300-303
Fence ii. 128, 137, 156, 158, 173, 178, 411
Fertility, artificial break in curve of i. 68
curve of i. 87
differential i. 67 ftn.
goddess of: see *Goddess of*
gross i. 70
inheritance of i. 81, 82
natural i. 67
net i. 70
Fever, enteric, distribution of i. 21, 22
Fever, scarlet, distribution of i. 33
Fick ii. 119, 134, 155, 178, 189, 208, 226, 227
Fijians, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290
Fire-sticks ii. 112, 120, 123, 149, 190
Fischart ii. 176
Fison and Howitt "Kamilaroi and Kumai" ii. 65
Fivelingeër Landregt ii. 17, 133
Flinders Petrie i. 280, 299, 339, 367
Flint, "Socialism" i. 175 ftn.
Flögel, "Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen" ii. 275 ftn., 282 ftn., 324 ftn., 325 ftn., 365 ftn.
Folz, Hans ii. 376 ftn.
Forearm, mean and standard deviation of i. 304
Forehead, mean and standard deviation of roundness of i. 326
Fossils in language, folklore, custom, etc. ii. 94, 147, 148, 151
Franck, S., "History Bible" ii. 260, 266, 267 ftn.
Fratria ii. 135
Free, its double sense ii. 171-174
French, sexual ratio of i. 285 ftn.; mean and standard deviation of brain weight i. 322; of cephalic index i. 290, 352, 353; of femur i. 302; of humerus i. 302; of radius i. 32; of skull capacity i. 330; of span and of stature i. 295; of tibia i. 302
Frequency, curve of i. 16, 272 *et seq.*
Frequency, range of i. 18, 275
Freya ii. 42, 122
Freyja ii. 168, 169, 170, 174, 175, 199
Freyr ii. 122, 167, 174, 175
Freytag, G., "De initiis scenicae poesis apud Germanos" ii. 284 ftn.
Fricke ii. 42, 44
Friend, the root of ii. 167
Frigg ii. 198
Friesians, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290; of skull capacity, 335
Frua (see *Frû*) ii. 115, 131, 168
Frû ii. 106, 168, 170
Fruti ii. 119
Füessener Todtentanz i. 2
Furnivall ii. 392 ftn.

GAEA ii. 108
Galabin i. 37
Galton, Francis i. 19, 76, 83, 104, 129, 134, 258 ftn., 294, 299, 310, 315
"Natural Inheritance" i. 305, 311
Gaugenossen, ii. 139: *see* Index I. *genossen*
Gauls, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290 362
Gauss, "Law of Frequency" i. 274 ftn.
Geffcken, "Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts" ii. 277 ftn., 332 ftn., 340 ftn., 385 ftn.

Genealogies ending in female name ii. 107
Genossenschaft 429
Gerardus, "Life of St. Udalric" ii. 378 ftn.
Gericht 426
Gerichtsmahl ii. 146, 147, 427
Gerichtspiel ii. 146
German, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 361; of body weight i. 306; of brain weight i. 322; of profile angle i. 323; of skull capacity i. 333, 334; of stature i. 295
Germ-plasm i. 104
Gervinus ii. 287 ftn.
Giantess ii. 85 ftn.
Giblin, tabulation of roulette returns i. 55
Giesebrecht, "Vaganten oder Goliarden" ii. 304 ftn.
Girth, chest, mean and standard deviation of i. 310
Goat, sacrificial ii. 136, 137
Goddess of agriculture ii. 106, 123, 160, 170
Goddess of fertility ii. 105, 110, 122, 123, 131, 145, 150, 157, 160, 168, 169, 170, 193, 200, 240
Gode, weather witch ii. 27, 42; goddess of fruition ii. 106, 214
Godfather ii. 210-214
Godmother ii. 210-214
Gods, as lovers of goddesses ii. 108, 123
Goethe ii. 150
Golliards (strolling players) ii. 306
Graff, glosses of O.H.G. words ii. 100, 120, 192, 215
Grien, H. Baldung ii. 386 ftn.
Grimm, J. ii. 100, 196, 213, 220, 222, 224, 227, 304 ftn.
"Deutsche Mythologie" ii. 131, 321 ftn., 338 ftn., 357 ftn., 358 ftn., 381
"Weisthümer" ii. 431
"Wörterbuch" ii. 197, 429
Grimms' Fairy Tales ii. 51-91, 146
Group-dwelling ii. 106, 136, 148, 173
Group-Meal: see *Meal*
"*Guldin Spiegel des Sünders*" ii. 277
Gundelfinger's "Entombment" ii. 389, 390

Haeckel i. 111, 112, 123, 383, 386; "Freie Wissenschaft und freie Lehre" i. 107
Hay (fenced inclosure) ii. 14, 130, 137
Hagestolz ii. 14, 129
Hahnenschlag ii. 40
Hain, "Penitentionarius de Confessione" ii. 336 ftn.
Handfasting ii. 25
Hans-in-Luck ii. 228
Hartmann, "Oberammergauer Passionsspiel" ii. 286 ftn., 332; "Weihnacht-Lied u. Spiel" ii. 281 ftn.
Hasak, Vincenz, "Der christliche Glaube des deutschen Volkes" ii. 277 ftn.
Heart, mean and standard deviation of i. 316, 317
Hebrew civilisation ii. 96
Heidelberg Block-Book i. 4, 7
Heimdall ii. 203
Heimdallar Galdr ii. 141
Heimgarten ii. 411, 412
Heirlooms, as protection against witches ii. 35
Hel ii. 108
Heliand, the ii. 179, 186
Hera ii. 123, 240
Heredity, correlation as the measure of i. 63
Herrad von Landsberg, "Hortus Deliciarum" ii. 260, 285, 286, 326 ftn.
Hexe, as champion of mother-right ii. 57, 130; as priestess of mother-goddess ii. 54; derivation of ii. 14, 130
Hexenmahl ii. 137, 151, 412
Hilarius ii. 305 ftn., 376 ftn., 395 ftn.
Hilde (goddess of fruition) ii. 104
Hildesheim, John of ii. 327
His and Rutemeyer, "Crania Helvetica" i. 291, 336, 360, 361
Hive, as a fossil ii. 126
Hochfeder, Caspar ii. 387 ftn.
Holbein i. 1, 8, 9, 40; ii. 263, 331 ftn., 346 ftn., 366 ftn., 383 ftn., 391 ftn.
Holde ii. 182
Holle ii. 29, 37, 42, 44, 63, 169
Home ii. 128
Hortulus Animae ii. 351 ftn., 366 ftn., 380 ftn., 387 ftn.
Hottentots, fertility of i. 85; mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290
Householder and housedweller ii. 190
Hrosvitha ii. 288, 326 ftn.
Hubatsch, "Die lateinischen Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters" ii. 304 ftn.
Humerus, mean and standard deviation of i. 300, 302, 303
Hunting or Giant Type ii. 104, 151
Hus, "De Ecclesia" ii. 393 ftn.
Husband ii. 195
Husband's brother, words for ii. 236
Husenbeth, "Emblems of Saints" ii. 266 ftn.
Huxley, "Collected Essays" i. 156
"Evolution and Ethics" i. 110, 111, 112

Iliad, the ii. 157
Index, Cephalic—
as a test of variability i. 286-293

Index, Cephalic—
definition of i. 269
mean and standard deviation of i. 349-372
table of i. 290
variation in i. 371
Index, Eye, mean and standard deviation of i. 327
Forehead-breadth ditto i. 326
Kollmann's ditto i. 325
Nose ditto i. 327, 328
Indians, American, fertility of i. 85; use of the mill ii. 149
Isis ii. 122, 150, 170
Italians, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 353; of skull capacity i. 332

JACOB, J., "Studies in Jewish Statistics" i. 258 ftn.
Janssen, J., "An meine Kritiker" ii. 351 ftn.
"Geschichte des deutschen Volkes" ii. 277 ftn.
Jews, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 349
Mediæval exaggeration of brutality of ii. 344-347
Joan of Arc as white witch or folk-leader ii. 12
Jord ii. 160
Jubinal, "Mystères inédits" ii. 276 ftn., 306 ftn., 322 ftn., 325 ftn., 345 ftn., 361 ftn., 371 ftn., 372 ftn., 377 ftn., 380 ftn., 384 ftn., 385 ftn., 390-396 ftn.
Jesus, as portrayed in passion-plays ii. 346, 359, 360

KAISERSBERG, GEILER VON ii. 282, 287 ftn., 431
K[illegible], mean and standard deviation of skull capacity i. 342
K[illegible] ii. 153; Cartulary of ii. 211
K[illegible] ii. 207
K[illegible], "Beiträge zur Kirchen St. Gallen" ii. 213 ftn.
K[illegible], "Geschichte Dynastie [illegible]
[illegible] ii. 228
K[illegible] [illegible] 278
K[illegible] [illegible] 276
K[illegible] [illegible]
K[illegible] [illegible] 280
K[illegible] ii. 258 [illegible]

Kindle, notion in ii. 112
Kindred group-marriage ii. 219
status of men in ii. 103, 201
supported by words for brother- and sister-in-law ii. 236
Kin-group, as primitive social unit ii. 171
Kinship, the basis of civilisation ii. 145
through the woman ii. 188
King ii. 116; power derived from queen ii. 117
King, "History of the Apostles' Creed" ii. 396 ftn.
Kirmes ii. 19, 20, 44, 133, 146, 284
Kith and kin ii. 115
Klingenthal, Dance of Death in i. 7
Knackfuss, "Monograph on Velasquez" ii. 385 ftn.
Koganei (statistics) i. 340
Kraft, Adam ii. 386 ftn.
Krauss ii. 165
Krüger ii. 258, 273, 340 ftn., 389 ftn., 403 ftn.
Kummer ii. 313 ftn.
Kuning (kin-alderman) ii. 56

LAIB UND SCHWARZ, "Biblia Pauperum" ii. 267
Language, primitive ii. 97
Lapps, fertility of i. 85
Laws, Saxon ii. 214
Leges Presbyterorum Northumbriensium ii. 235
Lehner, "Die Marienverehrung" ii. 351 ftn.
L[illegible], its derivation ii. 233
L[illegible], the ii. 158
L[illegible], the ii. 236
L[illegible] ii. 210
L[illegible] ii. 210, 211
L[illegible], "Theorie der Bevölkerungsstatistik" i. 27 ftn., 29
L[illegible] ii. 362 ftn.
L[illegible] ii. 279
L[illegible] mean and standard deviation of [illegible] ii. 367; of long [illegible] of skull capacity i. 339
L[illegible] ii. 114
L[illegible] ii. 304 ftn.
L[illegible] ii. 277
L[illegible] mean and standard deviation of [illegible] 318
L[illegible] Day [illegible] ii. 381
[illegible] 365 [illegible]
L[illegible] [illegible] ii. 283 ftn.
[illegible] 328
[illegible] ii. 279

Lupercalia ii. 158
Luther ii. 176, 203, 209
Luther, Hymns ii. 382 ftn.
"Von den Jüden" ii. 344 ftn.
"Von Kauffshandlung und Wucher" ii. 252 ftn.

MAEGELAGU ii. 105
Mahal (folk assembly) ii. 56, 101, 147, 149: *see* Index I.
Maid ii. 139
Mailehn (May-fee) 24, 25, 408, 409
Mainz, council of ii. 211
Maitland, "The Dark Ages" ii. 278 ftn.
Man, its derivation ii. 191
Mannhardt i. 118; "Der Baumkultus" ii. 321 ftn., 338 ftn.
Manouvrier i. 285 ftn., 298, 306, 340, 352
Manual, York ii. 297 ftn.
Manuel, N. ii. 403 ftn.
Mapes, Walter ii. 304 ftn.
Märchen ii. 199, 202, 208, 211, 224
Marienklage ii. 272, 273, 384 ftn.
Mariolatry ii. 351
Mark ii. 106, 128, 137, 173
Markgenossen ii. 137, 431
Markgenossenschaft ii. 144, 145, 159, 164, 431
Marriage, kindred-group ii. 92, 104, 121, 140-143, 152, 154, 171, 180, 195
Marriage, patriarchal words for ii. 138
Marriage-rate, selective i. 84
Marriages, distribution of Italian i. 20, 21
Marriott, "Collection of English Mysteries" ii. 281 ftn., 333, 367
Marshall i. 276, 286 ftn., 322
Martene, "De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus" ii. 283 ftn., 290 ftn., 291, 295 ftn., 297 ftn., 300, 310 ftn., 325 ftn., 372 ftn., 373 ftn., 378 ftn.
Martin-Leake, A. i. 270 ftn.
Mary Magdalen, as portrayed in passion-plays ii. 361-363
Mate ii. 140
Matralia ii. 201
Matriarchate: see *Mother-age*
Matriculation, its derivation ii. 203
Matrimony ii. 198
Matter i. 202, 380-383; ii. 199
May-Day ii. 19-24, 26, 36, 38-41, 47
May-Day dance ii. 133: see *Dances*
Meal, Group- ii. 135, 138, 143, 146, 156, 158, 185
Mean, distinction between mode and i. 16
Mechel, Peter ii. 359 ftn.
Mediævalism, a factor of modern culture ii. 248, 249, 398-400
Median i. 16
Meier, E., "Sitten aus Schwaben" ii. 275 ftn.
Meister, Karl, "Das deutsche Kirchenlied" ii. 278 ftn.
Meister Stephan, "Last Judgment" ii. 340 ftn., 341 ftn., 360 ftn.
Meister Wilhelm, "Leben Jesu" ii. 263, 385 ftn.
Memling, Hans, "Seven Joys of the Virgin" ii. 373 ftn.
Michael Angelo ii. 389 ftn.
Midsummer Day ii. 25, 26, 36-41
Milchsack, "Oster- und Passionsspiele" ii. 283 ftn., 295 ftn., 297 ftn., 299, 310, 313
Mill, J. S., "Subjection of Women" i. 232
Mill, birthplace of celebrated bastards ii. 150; primitive ii. 112, 123, 149, 190; connection with primitive sexual license ii. 150
Milton ii. 207, 208
Minnesinger ii. 147
Missal, Canterbury ii. 295 ftn.; Leofric ii. 295 ftn., 296, 378 ftn.; Mainz ii. 295 ftn.; Sarum ii. 296 ftn.; York ii. 296 ftn.
Mivart, St. George i. 379-388
Mode (occurrence of maximum frequency) i. 11-16
Monaco, Le i. 45, 51, 53, 55
Mone, "Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters" ii. 282 ftn., 288, 293, 294, 297, 339, 374 ftn.; plan of stage ii. 320
Monogamy, its influence on words ii. 190
Monte Carlo i. 43-62
Morality, genesis of ii. 93
Morris, "Legend of the Holy Rood" ii. 262, 385 ftn., 393 ftn.
Mortality, childhood i. 33; infancy i. 34; middle age i. 30; old age i. 29; youth i. 32
Mother ii. 199
Mother-age ii. 2, 103, 108, 240; civilisation ii. 92, 108, 122; key to its characteristics ii. 190
Mother Earth ii. 193, 198, 199, 201; and her son ii. 103, 160
Mother-goddess ii. 106, 160, 169, 170, 171, 202
Mother-in-law, words for ii. 228
Mother-son deities ii. 199, 219
Mother-son theogonies ii. 104, 105
Mother's brothers, words for ii. 215
Mother's sisters, words for ii. 201
Mud ii. 199
Müller, Max ii. 100

Mummies, Egyptian, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index of i. 290, 366; of skull capacity i. 339
Münzenberger, Confessional Books ii. 277 ftn.
Mylitta (Babylonian mother-goddess of fertility) ii. 110
Mysteries—
Chester ii. 346 ftn., 357 ftn., 372 ftn., 373 ftn., 374 ftn., 376 ftn., 386 ftn.
Coventry ii. 258, 262, 276 ftn., 306 ftn., 328 ftn., 331 ftn., 333, 334, 337 ftn., 343, 346 ftn., 357 ftn., 358, 367, 372 ftn., 380 ftn., 383 ftn., 386 ftn., 397
Digby ii. 343, 344 ftn., 362 ftn., 386 ftn., 396
Tours ii. 302, 303, 329 ftn., 390
Towneley ii. 258 ftn., 392 ftn., 393

NECK, mean and standard deviation of sensitivity at i. 315
Negroes, fertility of i. 85; mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 368; of skull capacity i. 340
Neolithic man, mean and standard deviation of femur of i. 301; reconstruction of stature of i. 298
Nephew, words for ii. 218
Nerthus (goddess of fruition) ii. 106
New-born child, manner of announcing sex of ii. 220
Newsholme, "Vital Statistics" i. 38
Nibelungenlied ii. 167, 215
Nicodemus, Gospel of ii. 298, 385, 387 ftn., 392 ftn.
Niece, words for ii. 219
Nichues, "Zur Geschichte der Hexenprocesse im Münster" ii. 338 ftn.
Notker ii. 159
Nürnberg, John of, "Vita Vagorum" ii. 307

ODYSSEUS ii. 149, 157
Officium Stellae ii. 291-293
Osiris ii. 122
Ostendorfer (Virgin as local mother-goddess) ii. 353
Ostiaks, fertility of i. 85
Otfrid ii. 180
Ovid ii. 225

PALATE, length of, mean and standard deviation of i. 328
Paley, "Natural Theology" i. 161
Panjab, outcaste tribes of, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 368; of skull capacity i. 341
Panmixia, rate of regression as measure of i. 63, 104, 114, 133-137
Panzer, "Bayerische Gebräuche" ii. 60 ftn.
Papuans, fertility of i. 85
Parfre, John ii. 387 ftn.
Parisians, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 352, 353; of skull capacity i. 330-332
Parker, "Architectural Notes" ii. 264 ftn., 293 ftn.
Passional, Das Alte ii. 312, 385, 387 ftn.
Passion-Play—
Characterisation in the ii. 334-363
Freiburg ii. 322
German, List of ii. 246-406
Greek ii. 272
Growth of the ii. 279-314
Heidelberg ii. 267
On the performers in the ii. 364-369
Plan of stage of, after Mone ii. 320
Spirit of the ii. 269-279
Stage, costumes, etc. ii. 315-334
Stage-accessories ii. 325-334
St. Gallen ii. 311 ftn.
Summary of the ii. 397-406
The contents of the ii. 370-397
Unity of the ii. 256-269
World drama as the keynote to the ii. 257
Patriarchal-system, its origin ii. 188
Patriarchate ii. 5, 100, 102, 129, 135, 223
Patricians ii. 95
Peacock (statistics) i. 316-321
Pearson, K., "Die Fronica" ii. 330 ftn., 386 ftn.; "Grammar of Science" i. 152 ftn. 380-387; "Memoir on Regression, Heredity and Panmixia" i. 66, 81, 259 ftn.
Peile, W. H., measurement of Whitechapel skulls i. 351
Persephone ii. 115, 175
Peruvians, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 367; of skull capacity i. 339, 340
Pervonto (Italian equivalent of Askelad) ii. 51 ftn.
Pfister, "Rechtstreit des Menschen mit dem Tode" ii. 342 ftn.
Piderit, K. W., "Weihnachtspiel" ii. 275 ftn., 289 ftn., 340 ftn., 357 ftn., 372 ftn.
Pilate ii. 150; as portrayed in the passion-plays ii. 360, 361
Pipin, charter of ii. 212

Place names ii. 123, 144
Playing of the Stag ii. 19
Plays—
Alsfelder ii. 295 ftn., 323, 324 ftn., 335 ftn., 343, 362, 368, 374 ftn., 376 ftn.
Brixlegg ii. 262, 263, 379 ftn., 380 ftn., 389 ftn.
Chester ii. 265 ftn., 275, 327 ftn., 331 ftn., 341 ftn., 346 ftn.
De Decem Virginibus ii. 274, 317, 389 ftn., 343, 370 ftn.
Donaueschingen ii. 331, 362, 374 ftn.
Egerer ii. 257, 264, 267, 273, 295 ftn., 323 ftn., 326, 346, 355, 358, 371, 373 ftn., 374 ftn.
English in churches ii. 413-420
Erlauer ii. 362
Frankfurter ii. 324, 376 ftn.
In Cunabilis Christi ii. 275
Kunzelsauer ii. 376 ftn.
List of German mediæval religious ii. 254, 255
Luzerner ii. 371
Oberufer ii. 261, 327 ftn.
York ii. 258
Plays, Magi—
Freising ii. 291
Orleans ii. 291
Ploss, "Das Weib" i. 85
Plough, symbol of fertility ii. 124, 169, 424
Politics and science i. 140-172
Polynesians, fertility of i. 85; mean and standard deviation of cephalic index 369; of skull capacity i. 342, 344
Porter, "Growth of St. Louis Children" i. 295, 296, 299, 306, 309, 310, 314, 358, 359
Prefigurations ii. 265-269
Priestesses of mother-goddess ii. 106, 171
Priests (men dressed as women) ii. 106
Prije ii. 168
Primitive civilisation ii. 190
Primitive conduct, motives of ii. 99, 192, 193, 205, 208, 238
Prtis ii. 168
Prostitutes ii. 105
Prostitution, organised ii. 109
Puczpirn ii. 381
Pull, strength of, mean and standard deviation of i. 311, 313

QUEAN ii. 114
Queen ii. 113, 114
Queen bee ii. 197
Quental, "Kölner Bibel" ii. 341 ftn.
Quetelet, "Anthropométrie" i. 48, 285 ftn., 307, 312
Quick ii. 194

RADIUS, mean and standard deviation of i. 300, 302, 303
Radius of gyration, or swing- i. 17
Rahon, J., "La taille préhistorique" i. 301
Ramersdorf ii. 386 ftn.
Ranke, "Anthropologie des Bayern" i. 323-327, 333, 334, 354
Ratios, table of sexual i. 374; table of variation i. 374
Rawlings, J. D. (statistics) i. 309
Reaction i. 173-225
Regression i. 63
Reichersberg, Gerloh von ii. 286
Reid (statistics) i. 316, 321
Relationship, patriarchal words for ii. 142; special words for ii. 191
Relations-in-law, words for ii. 223
Reynard the Fox ii. 152, 211
Rhys, Professor, Hibbert Lectures ii. 65 ftn., 142, 151, 236
Right ii. 426
Risley (statistics) i. 289
Ritter-dance ii. 342, 343
Ritual, Church Scenic ii. 289-314; Narbonne ii. 310; Rouen ii. 291, 292
Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites" i. 118; "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" ii. 105 ftn.
Rochholz ii. 150
Rock, "Church of our Fathers" ii. 405 ftn.
Rollet, "De la mensuration des os longs des membres" i. 301
Romanes, G. i. 67 ftn.
Romans, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290, 345
Roquette, Otto, "Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung" ii. 318 ftn.
Rorbach ii. 329
Rosenheimer, "Dreikönigsspiel" ii. 374 ftn., 383 ftn.
Roulette, Monte Carlo i. 42-62
Row-Graves, diagram of cephalic index i. 20
Rubin (statistics) i. 69, 85, 92, 97, 98, 100

SACRIFICES made by women ii. 102, 130
Saint John's Eve ii. 105
Saints, female ii. 122
Sakäes ii. 109

Salisbury Hours ii. 266 ftn.
Salisbury, Lord i. 144-187, 218, 383-386
Samoiedes, fertility of i. 85
Sasse i. 335, 364
Satan, as portrayed in the passion-plays ii. 357, 358
Scandinavians, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290
Schade ii. 206, 226
Schedel, "Nürnberg Chronicle" ii. 259, 342
Scheifelin ii. 387 ftn. 393
Scherer, "Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa" ii. 281 ftn., 326 ftn.
Schiltberger, "Reisebuch" ii. 105 ftn.
Schmeller ii. 100, 146, 192, 208, 322 ftn., 381 ftn.
"Carmina Burana" ii. 305 ftn.
Schmid, R. ii. 209 ftn.
Schmidt, J. ii. 182
Schmidt, Oscar i. 108, 109
Scholars, strolling ii. 304-308
Schönemann, "Der Sündenfall" ii. 384 ftn., 385 ftn.
Schöngauer, "Adoration of the Magi" ii. 326 ftn., 340 ftn.
Schönsperger, "Via Felicitatis" ii. 387 ftn., 393 ftn.
Schrathenthal ii. 387 ftn.
Schröer, "Deutsche Weihnachtspiele" ii. 261
Schrucker, "Hirtenspiel" ii. 274
Selection, natural i. 63, 94
periodic i. 72, 159 ftn.
reproductive i. 63-102; definition i. 65, 66
secular i. 159 ftn.
Sex-calls and food-calls of animals ii. 239
Sex-festivals ii. 104, 105, 122, 130, 132, 136, 158, 171; meeting-place for ii. 105, 125
Sex-function, meaning of words of relationship to be sought in ii. 97
Sex-relation between kindred ii. 103, 145
Sexual freedom of women ii. 203
Sexual group, as social unit ii. 182
Sexual relation of brother-sister ii. 102
Shakespeare ii. 200, 207
Ship of Fools ii. 270
Sif ii. 160, 161
Sight, keenness of, mean and standard deviation of i. 311
Simmons, T. C. i. 58
Simrock ii. 151, 356 ftn., 383 ftn.
"Mythologie" ii. 321 ftn.
"Volksbücher" ii. 326 ftn., 382 ftn., 385 ftn.
Sims i. 320, 321
Sister ii. 122
Sister-in-law ii. 231
Skeat ii. 192, 196, 214, 223
Skewness, measured by difference between mean and mode i. 16, 18
Skulls, Bavarian, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index of i. 278, 279: see also under each race
brachycephalic i. 288
dolichocephalic i. 288
Smith, "Dictionary of the Bible" ii. 345
Smith, Toulmin, "English Guilds" ii. 365 ftn., 405 ftn.
Socialism and Natural Selection i. 103-109
Son ii. 221
Son-in-law, words for ii. 223
exogamous and endogamous terms ii. 228
Souls, list of ii. 341
Span, mean and standard deviation of i. 299, 311
Spencer, H. i. 111, 112, 113, 116, 121, 122, 134, 187, 193
Spinster ii. 130
Spoon, bridal, a fossil ii. 148
Spousals ii. 138
Spring or Brunnen, as meeting-place ii. 106
Spurcalia, the ii. 159, ftn.
Squeeze, strength of, mean and standard deviation of i. 311, 313, 314
Star in the East, as stage accessory ii. 325-327
Statistics i. 23, 27, 44
Stature, mean and standard deviation of i. 285 ftn., 294-299, 311, 313
Stellifer or *Sternträger* ii. 325
Stella Maris (Virgin Mary) ii. 326
Stephens, G. ii. 389 ftn., 393 ftn.
Stieda, "Archiv für Anthropologie" i. 349.
Stoeger ii. 383 ftn.
Stokes, G. G. i. 214
Stokes, Whitley ii. 227, 230
Stoss, Veit ii. 386 ftn.
Strabo ii. 13
Strauss, "Leben Jesu" ii. 345 ftn.
Stubbs, "Anatomie" ii. 396 ftn.
Succession, right of, through marrying a king's daughter ii. 107: see *Fairy Tales*
Swedes, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290; of skull capacity i. 365.
Swiss, Ancient, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 290; of skull capacity i. 336, 360, 361

TAIDINGE ii. 147
Tailltiu ii. 175
Tacitus ii. 132, 137, 143
Tarentzky ii. 368
Tatian ii. 161, 188
Tengler, "Leyenspiegel" ii. 317 ftn.
Tennyson i. 258 ftn.
Tertullian ii. 213, 214
Thane, G. D. i. 270 ftn., 330
Thesmophoria, the ii. 150, 170
Thomas von Kempen, "Imitatio Christi" ii. 277
Thompson, H. i. 339, 367
Thompson, R. E. i. 266 ftn.
Thrûdhr ii. 180
Thurnam, "Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls" i. 337, 362, 365
Tibia, mean and standard deviation of i. 300-303
Tilth, as symbol of sexual union ii. 199, 424
Tisa (*Zisa*) ii. 131
Tribal-Father ii. 106, 163
Tribal-Mother ii. 107, 188, 199
Trimberg, Hugo von ii. 211
Troparion ii. 201
Trude ii. 34, 63
Truth and Troth, their origin ii. 182
Twelfth Night ii. 28, 36

UHLAND ii. 151
Ulfilas ii. 132, 149, 182, 185
Uncle, words for ii. 208, 215
United States Recruits, variation in stature i. 276, 277
Uote (tribal-mother of the Burgundians) ii. 107 ftn., 131
Uranus ii. 108

VARIABILITY, of the sexes i. 293-377
scientific measure of i. 272-286
Variation, coefficient of i. 283
in man and woman i. 256-377
Table of ratio of i. 374
Veghe, Johan ii. 277 ftn.
Velasquez ii. 386 ftn.
Venus ii. 107. 114, 119
Verena ii. 106, 150
Verlobung, mother-age fossil ii. 177
Viennese, mean and standard deviation of cephalic index i. 357; of skull capacity i. 333
Virchow, "Die Altnordischen Schädel zu Kopenhagen" i. 365
Virginity, a patriarchal virtue ii. 122, 130
Virgin goddess ii. 122, 131
Virgin Mary ii. 33, 36, 37, 42, 182; as local mother-goddess ii. 353; as portrayed in the passion-plays ii. 350-357
Virgin, the ii. 115
Visitatio Sepulchri ii. 299-301
Vola (or Sibyl) ii. 13

WACKERNAGEL ii. 132, 192, 205, 281, 342 ftn.
Waischenfeld i. 325, 327, 354-356
Walber ii. 44
Wallace, A. R. i. 106
Walpurga ii. 10, 42, 43, 44, 45, 106, 150, 169
Walpurgisnacht ii. 21, 24, 27, 29-32, 39-44
Walpurgistag ii. 137, 158, 181
Walther von der Vogelweide ii. 167
Warren, A., "Leofric Missal" ii. 295 ftn., 342 ftn., 378 ftn.
Warren, E. i. 299
Webb, Sidney, "Fabian Essays" i. 246
Weber ii. 226
Wedding ii. 138
Wedding-dance ii. 133: see *Dance*
Wedding torches ii. 17, 82
Weiberdingete ii. 25
Weibermonat ii. 137, 158
Weigand ii. 1, 30
Weight, body, sexual ratio of i. 285 ftn.; mean and standard deviation of i. 305-309, 313
brain, sexual ratio of i. 285 ftn.; mean and standard deviation of i. 319-323: see *Heart, Liver*, etc.
Weihbrunnen, well of goddess of fertility ii. 37
Weinhold ii. 213; "Infancy Play" ii. 132, 275, 287
Weisbach i. 276, 322, 333, 357
Weismann i. 104, 114, 134-137, 165, 386
Weisthümer ii. 56, 94, 147, 168, 431
Welcher, "Wachsthum und Bau des menschlichen Schädels" i. 333, 334
Weldon, W. F. R. i. 11, 19, 104, 134, 160
Wernher, "Driu liet von der Maget" ii. 372 ftn.
Westergaard i. 48, 69, 85, 92, 97, 98, 100
Widow, derivation of ii. 101, 237
Wife, derivation of ii. 101, 192
Wild, Sebastian ii. 365
Wildefrauen ii. 38, 39
Winileod, the ii. 17, 49, 133, 136, 158
Witch ii. 11
Witch of Beutelsback ii. 12
Witch, White ii. 11, 62
Witch, woman as: see *Woman*
Witchcraft, evidences of mother-right in customs of ii. 1-48
Witches' Sabbath, relic of sex-festival ii. 83: see *Hexenmahl*

π [illegible] 150
π [illegible] 155, 161
π [illegible] 164
π [illegible] 211
Z [illegible] 123, 170, 202
Z [illegible] *Exper* ii. 147
Z [illegible] see *Tau*
Z [illegible] 56, 163, 205

Ey wie vrí ich was,
do ich schreib *Deo gratias*.
OLD SCRIBE.

March, 1897.

MR. EDWARD ARNOLD'S
Spring Announcements.

LONDON: 37 BEDFORD STREET.
NEW YORK: 70 FIFTH AVENUE.

THROUGH UNKNOWN AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

The First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Rudolf and Lamu.

A Narrative of Scientific Exploration and Sporting Adventures.

By A. DONALDSON SMITH, M.D., F.R.G.S.

With nearly thirty full-page Plates and numerous smaller Illustrations by A. D. MCCORMICK, CHARLES WHYMPER, etc., and detailed Maps of the countries traversed.

Super royal 8vo., One Guinea net.

This important work of exploration will be valuable not only from the magnitude of the expedition and the unknown character of the route, but for the scientific results obtained, and the varied collections made and classified. Especially interesting is the account of the *hinterland* of Abyssinia, and the reception accorded to the explorer by Menelek and his generals. An autograph letter from the Emperor Menelek himself is one of the curiosities preserved by Dr. Smith and reproduced in facsimile.

SOLDIERING AND SURVEYING IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA, 1891-1894.

An Account of the Survey for the Uganda Railway, and the various Campaigns in the British Protectorate during the last few years.

By Major J. R. MACDONALD, R.E.

Illustrated from Sketches and Photographs by the Author and numerous Plans and a Map.

Demy 8vo., 16s.

CONTENTS: Chap. I. Start from Mombasa—Chap. II. To Machako's—Chap. III. Ukambani—Chap. IV. To Lake Naivasha—Chap. V. To Uganda—Chap. VI. Lugard's Christian War—Chap. VII. To Kibwezi—Chap. VIII. Fighting in Kukuyu—Chap. IX. Account of Uganda—Chap. X. War with the Wavuma—Chap. XI. Sir G. Portal's Work—Chap. XII. First Mohammedan War—Chap. XIII. Second Mohammedan War—Chap. XIV. Before the Third War—Chap. XV. Selim Bey's Intrigues—Chap. XVI. The Crisis—Chap. XVII. Fall of Selim Bey—Chap. XVIII. Close of the Campaign—Chap. XIX. Preparations against Kabarega—Chap. XX. Unyoro Expedition.

ON VELDT AND FARM:

In Cape Colony, Bechuanaland, Natal, and the Transvaal.

By FRANCES McNAB.

With Map. Crown 8vo., 300 pages, 3s. 6d.

This volume is written by a lady well fitted by her previous training to form a discriminating estimate of South African affairs: she spent a considerable time in the Colonies and received valuable facilities from influential residents while inquiring into the condition of the country and the prospect for intending settlers.

CONTENTS.—Markets—Land Purchase—Trekking—Political History—Viticulture—Fruit-growing—Johannesburg—Farming in the Transvaal—Irrigation—Locusts—Ostriches, Sheep, and Goats—Wheat—Forestry—Native Affairs—Natal—Tea, Sugar, and Coffee.

FISH TAILS AND SOME TRUE ONES.

By BRADNOCK HALL, Author of 'Rough Mischance.'

With an original Etching by the Author, and twelve full-page Illustrations by T. H. MCLACHLAN.

Crown 8vo., 6s.

The scene of most of these 'Fish-Tails' (or Tales!) is laid in Norway, but of some in England and Scotland. They relate the author's experiences, making due allowance for the elasticity of a fisherman's fancy.

THE BEGGARS OF PARIS.

Translated from the French of M. LOUIS PAULIAN.
By Lady HERSCHELL.

Crown 8vo., paper boards, 192 pages, 1s.

'The author of "Paris qui mendie" speaks with the experience of one who has put the question of mendicity to a personal test, and who has beaten the beggar in the various branches of his own trade. No one therefore is a better authority on the subject.'—*From the Preface.*

WASTED RECORDS OF DISEASE.

By CHARLES E. PAGET, Lecturer on Public Health in Owens College, Medical Officer of Health for Salford, etc.

Crown 8vo., 2s. 6d.

CONTENTS.

I. A Review of the attempts made to secure or establish permanent systems of Disease Registration, and the causes of their failure.

II. Legislative recognition of the need for Disease Registration, and its shortcomings.

III. Views on the steps advisable to secure a permanent and useful system of National Disease Registration.

WILD NORWAY:

With Chapters on the Swedish Highlands, Jutland, and Spitzbergen.

By ABEL CHAPMAN, Author of 'Wild Spain,' etc.

With seventeen full-page Illustrations and numerous smaller ones by the Author and CHARLES WHYMPER.

Demy 8vo., 16s.

It is hoped that this book may become a standard work on Norwegian sport. It is the result of many years' personal experience of all kinds of sport—Stalking, Fishing, Shooting, and Elk-hunting. The author is well known as a naturalist, and his interesting remarks on the habits of birds and animals are those of a close and careful observer.

CONTENTS: Chap. I. Fjeld and Fjord—Chaps. II. and III. Reindeer-Stalking—Chaps. IV. and V. Salmon Fishing—Chap. VI. Memories of Monsters—Chap. VII. Salmon in Surendal—Chap. VIII. Summer Rambles—Chap. IX. More Salmon Rivers—Chaps. X. and XI. Trouting—Chap. XII. Autumn in Norway—Chap. XIII. Hunting Camps in Hardanger—Chaps. XIV. and XV. Elk-Hunting—Chaps. XVI. and XVII. Highlands of the Swedish Divide—Chap. XVIII. Wild Life in Forest and Fjeld—Chap. XIX. Impressions of Denmark—Chap. XX. Lagoons and Marshes of Jutland—Chap. XXI. The North Sea—Chap. XXII. Spitzbergen.

A MEMOIR OF MISS A. J. CLOUGH,

Late Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. By her niece, Miss B. A. CLOUGH.

With portrait, large crown 8vo., 12s. 6d.

THE CHANCES OF DEATH, AND OTHER STUDIES IN EVOLUTION.

By KARL PEARSON, F.R.S., Author of 'The Ethic of Free Thought,' etc.

In two vols., demy 8vo., with Illustrations, 25s. net.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.—The Chances of Death—The Scientific Aspect of Monte Carlo Roulette—Reproductive Selection—Socialism and Natural Selection—Politics and Science—Reaction—Woman and Labour—Variation in Man and Woman.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.—Woman as Witch—Ashiepattle; or, Hans seeks his Luck—Kindred Group Marriage—The German Passion Play—Index.

OLD ENGLISH GLASSES.

An Account of Glass Drinking-vessels in England from Early Times to the end of the Eighteenth Century, with notices of Continental Glasses during the same period.

By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

With nearly 70 full-page Lithographic Plates and over 400 smaller Illustrations. Super royal 4to., £3 3s. net.

This magnificent and unique work is dedicated by special permission to Her Majesty the Queen. A full prospectus can be had on application.

NEW STORY BY THE AUTHOR OF 'DIANA TEMPEST.'

A DEVOTEE:

An Episode in the Life of a Butterfly.

By MARY CHOLMONDELEY, Author of 'Diana Tempest,' 'The Danvers Jewels,' etc.

Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

NEW VOLUME OF 'THE SPORTSMAN'S LIBRARY.'

THE SPORTSMAN IN IRELAND.

By COSMOPOLITE.

With six Coloured Plates and numerous full-page and other Illustrations by P. CHENEVIX FRENCH.

Edited by Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P., and forming the third volume of 'The Sportsman's Library.'

Large 8vo., handsomely bound, 15s. A limited large-paper edition, £2 2s. net.

Note.—Previous volumes of 'The Sportsman's Library' are

I.—THE LIFE OF A FOX. By THOMAS SMITH.

II.—COLONEL THORNTON'S SPORTING TOUR IN THE NORTH.

MEMORIES OF THE MONTHS.

Leaves from a Field Naturalist's Note-book.

By Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P., Author of 'Dumfries and Galloway,' etc.

Crown 8vo., with four Photogravure Illustrations, 6s.

Various topics of country life are discoursed upon, and separated under the months in which they assume most prominence. Thus in January the author deals with—

Bird Migration—Power of Birds to endure Cold—A Lake Sanctuary—Canadian Pond-Weeds—The Scaup Duck—The Great Crested Grebe—Spring Salmon—Winter Flowers—West Coast Meteorology—The Bottle-Tit—Feathered Police—Revival of Primitive Flora.

And the other months are treated in a similar fashion.

EARLY ENGLISH FURNITURE.

An account of the famous English Cabinet-makers—Adams, Sheraton, Chippendale, etc. With over 100 fine Illustrations of their work.

By Mrs. WARREN CLOUSTON.

Demy 4to. Probable price, One Guinea net.

A GENERAL LIST OF

Mr. Edward Arnold's Publications.

TRAVEL, SPORT, AND EXPLORATION.

Balfour—TWELVE HUNDRED MILES IN A WAGGON. A Narrative of a Journey in Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and the Chartered Company's Territories. By ALICE BLANCHE BALFOUR. With nearly forty original Illustrations from Sketches by the Author, and a Map. Second edition. Demy 8vo., cloth, 16s.

Beynon—WITH KELLY TO CHITRAL. By Lieutenant W. G. L. BEYNON, D.S.O., 3rd Goorkha Rifles, Staff Officer to Colonel Kelly with the Relief Force. With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. Second edition. Demy 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Bull—THE CRUISE OF THE ANTARCTIC. To the South Polar Regions. By H. J. BULL, a member of the Expedition. Demy 8vo., 15s.

Chapman—WILD NORWAY. (*See page* 3.)

Colvile—THE LAND OF THE NILE SPRINGS. By Col. Sir HENRY COLVILE, K.C.M.G., C.B., recently British Commissioner in Uganda. Demy 8vo., 16s.

Custance—RIDING RECOLLECTIONS AND TURF STORIES. By HENRY CUSTANCE. One vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Freshfield—EXPLORATION OF THE CAUCASUS. By DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, lately President of the Alpine Club and Honorary Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. Illustrated by 3 Panoramas, 74 full-page Photogravures, about 140 Illustrations in the text, and 4 Original Maps. In 2 vols., large 4to., 600 pp., £3 3s. net.

Gordon—PERSIA REVISITED. With Remarks on H.I.M. Mozuffer-ed-Din Shah, and the Present Situation in Persia (1896). By General Sir T. E. GORDON, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I. Demy 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Hall—FISH TAILS. (*See page* 2.)

Hole—A LITTLE TOUR IN AMERICA. By the Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester, Author of 'The Memories of Dean Hole,' 'A Book about Roses,' etc. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo., 16s.

Hole—A LITTLE TOUR IN IRELAND. By AN OXONIAN (the Very Rev. S. R. HOLE). With nearly forty Illustrations by JOHN LEECH, including the famous steel Frontispiece of the 'Claddagh.' One vol., large crown 8vo., 6s.

Macdonald—SOLDIERING AND SURVEYING. (*See page* 1.)

Maxwell—MEMORIES OF THE MONTH. (*See page* 4.)

McNab—ON FARM AND VELDT. (*See page* 2.)

Pike—THROUGH THE SUB-ARCTIC FOREST. A Record of 4,000 Miles Exploration in British Columbia and Alaska. By WARBURTON PIKE, author of 'Barren Grounds of Canada.' Fully Illustrated. Demy 8vo., 16s.

Pollok—FIFTY YEARS' REMINISCENCES OF INDIA. By Lieut.-Colonel POLLOK, author of 'Sport in Burmah.' Demy 8vo., 16s.

Portal—THE BRITISH MISSION TO UGANDA. By the late Sir GERALD PORTAL, K.C.M.G. Edited by RENNELL RODD, C.M.G. Demy 8vo., 21s.

Portal—MY MISSION TO ABYSSINIA. By the late Sir GERALD H. PORTAL, C.B. With Map and Illustrations. Demy 8vo., 15s.

Slatin—FIRE AND SWORD IN THE SUDAN. A Personal Narrative of Fighting and Serving the Dervishes, 1879-1895. By SLATIN PASHA, C.B. Translated by Lieut.-Colonel WINGATE, R.A., D.S.O., Chief of the Intelligence Department, Egyptian Army. Fully Illustrated. Eighth Thousand. 21s. net.

Smith—THE LIFE OF A FOX, AND THE DIARY OF A HUNTSMAN. By THOMAS SMITH, Master of the Hambledon and Pytchley Hounds. With the original Illustrations by the Author, and Six Coloured Plates by G. H. JALLAND. Large 8vo., handsomely bound, 15s. Also a limited Large-paper Edition, with Plates on Japanese vellum, £2 2s. net. (*See* 'Sportsman's Library.')

Smith—THROUGH UNKNOWN AFRICAN COUNTRIES. (*See page* 1.)

Stone—IN AND BEYOND THE HIMALAYAS: A Record of Sport and Travel. By S. J. STONE, late Deputy Inspector-General of the Punjab Police. With 16 full-page Illustrations by CHARLES WHYMPER. Demy 8vo., 16s.

Thornton—THORNTON'S SPORTING TOUR IN THE NORTH. By Col. T. THORNTON, of Thornville Royal. With the Original Illustrations by GARRARD, Coloured Plates by G. LODGE, and other Illustrations. Large 8vo., handsomely bound, 15s. Also a limited Large-paper edition, £2 2s. net. (*See* 'Sportsman's Library.')

AMERICAN SPORT AND TRAVEL.

Aldrich—ARCTIC ALASKA AND SIBERIA; or, Eight Months with the Arctic Whalemen. By HERBERT L. ALDRICH. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

AMERICAN GAME FISHES. Their Habits, Habitat, and Peculiarities; How, When, and Where to Angle for them. By various Writers. 10s. 6d.

Higgins—NEW GUIDE TO THE PACIFIC COAST. Santa Fé Route. By C. A. HIGGINS. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

Leffingwell—THE ART OF WING-SHOOTING. By W. B. LEFFINGWELL. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

Shields—CAMPING AND CAMP OUTFITS. By G. O. SHIELDS ('Coquina'). Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

Shields—THE AMERICAN BOOK OF THE DOG. By various Writers. Edited by G. O. SHIELDS ('Coquina'). Cloth, 15s.

Thomas—SWEDEN AND THE SWEDES. By WILLIAM WIDGERY THOMAS, Jun., United States Minister to Sweden and Norway. Cloth, 16s.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Benson and Tatham—MEN OF MIGHT. Studies of Great Characters. By A. C. BENSON, M.A., and H. F. W. TATHAM, M.A., Assistant Masters at Eton College. Second Edition. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

Boyle—THE RECOLLECTIONS OF THE DEAN OF SALISBURY. By the Very Rev. G. D. BOYLE, Dean of Salisbury. With Photogravure Portrait. 1 vol., demy 8vo., cloth, 16s.

Cawston and Keane—THE EARLY CHARTERED COMPANIES. A.D. 1296-1858. By GEORGE CAWSTON, barrister-at-law, and A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S. Large crown 8vo., with Frontispiece, 10s. 6d.

Fowler—ECHOES OF OLD COUNTY LIFE. By J. K. FOWLER, of Aylesbury. Second Edition, with numerous Illustrations, 8vo., 10s. 6d. Also a Large-paper edition, of 200 copies only, 21s. net.

Hare—MARIA EDGEWORTH: her Life and Letters. Edited by AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE, Author of 'The Story of Two Noble Lives,' etc. Two vols., crown 8vo., with Portraits, 16s. net.

Hole—THE MEMORIES OF DEAN HOLE. By the Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester. With the original Illustrations from sketches by LEECH and THACKERAY. Twelfth thousand, crown 8vo., 6s.

Hole—MORE MEMORIES: Being Thoughts about England Spoken in America. By the Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester. With Frontispiece. Demy 8vo., 16s.

Hopkins—THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Bryn Mawr College, U.S.A. Demy 8vo., 8s. 6d. net.

Kay—OMARAH'S HISTORY OF YAMAN. The Arabic Text, edited, with a translation, by HENRY CASSELS KAY, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Demy 8vo., cloth, 17s. 6d. net.

Knight-Bruce—MEMORIES OF MASHONALAND. By the late Right Rev. Bishop KNIGHT-BRUCE, formerly Bishop of Mashonaland. 8vo., 10s. 6d.

Lecky—THE POLITICAL VALUE OF HISTORY. By W. E. H. LECKY, D.C.L., LL.D. An Address delivered at the Midland Institute, reprinted with additions. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Le Fanu—SEVENTY YEARS OF IRISH LIFE. By the late W. R. LE FANU. New and Popular Edition. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Macdonald—THE MEMOIRS OF THE LATE SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, G.C.B., First Prime Minister of Canada. Edited by JOSEPH POPE, his Private Secretary. With Portraits. Two vols., demy 8vo., 32s.

Milner—ENGLAND IN EGYPT. By Sir ALFRED MILNER, K.C.B., Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner to South Africa. Popular Edition, with Map, and full details of the British position and responsibilities, 7s. 6d.

Milner—ARNOLD TOYNBEE. A Reminiscence. By Sir ALFRED MILNER, K.C.B., Author of 'England in Egypt.' Crown 8vo., paper, 1s.

Oman—A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By CHARLES OMAN, Fellow of All Souls' College, and Lecturer in History at New College, Oxford; Author of 'Warwick the Kingmaker,' 'A History of Greece,' etc. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.
Also in two parts, 3s. each. Part I. to A.D. 1603; Part II. from 1603 to present time.

Pilkington—IN AN ETON PLAYING FIELD. The Adventures of some old Public School Boys in East London. By E. M. S. PILKINGTON. Fcap. 8vo., handsomely bound, 2s. 6d.

Pulitzer—THE ROMANCE OF PRINCE EUGENE. An Idyll under Napoleon the First. By ALBERT PULITZER. With numerous Photogravure Illustrations. Two vols., demy 8vo., 21s.

Raleigh—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. By WALTER RALEIGH, Professor of English Literature at Liverpool University College. Second edition, crown 8vo., cloth 2s. 6d.

Ransome—THE BATTLES OF FREDERICK THE GREAT. Extracted from Carlyle's 'History of Frederick the Great,' and edited by CYRIL RANSOME, M.A., Professor of History at the Yorkshire College, Leeds. With numerous Illustrations by ADOLPH MENZEL. Square 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Rochefort—THE ADVENTURES OF MY LIFE. By HENRI ROCHEFORT. Second Edition. Two vols., large crown 8vo., 25s.

Santley—STUDENT AND SINGER. The Reminiscences of CHARLES SANTLEY. New Edition, crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

Sherard—ALPHONSE DAUDET: a Biography and Critical Study. By R. H. SHERARD, Editor of 'The Memoirs of Baron Meneval,' etc. With Illustrations. Demy 8vo., 15s.

Tollemache—BENJAMIN JOWETT, Master of Balliol. A Personal Memoir. By the Hon. LIONEL TOLLEMACHE, Author of 'Safe Studies,' etc. Third Edition, with portrait, crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

Twining—RECOLLECTIONS OF LIFE AND WORK. Being the Autobiography of LOUISA TWINING. One vol., 8vo., cloth, 15s.

LITERATURE AND BELLES LETTRES.

Bell—DIANA'S LOOKING GLASS, and other Poems. By the Rev. CANON BELL, D.D., Rector of Cheltenham, and Hon. Canon of Carlisle. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s. net.

Bell—POEMS OLD AND NEW. By the Rev. CANON BELL, D.D. Cloth, 7s. 6d.

Bell—THE NAME ABOVE EVERY NAME, and other Sermons. By the Rev. CANON BELL, D.D. Cloth, 5s.

Bell—KLEINES HAUSTHEATER. Fifteen Little Plays in German for Children. By Mrs. HUGH BELL. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s.

Most of these little plays have been adapted from the author's 'Petit Théâtre,' the remainder from a little book of English plays by the same writer entitled 'Nursery Comedies.'

Butler—SELECT ESSAYS OF SAINTE BEUVE. Chiefly bearing on English Literature. Translated by A. J. BUTLER, Translator of 'The Memoirs of Baron Marbot.' One vol., 8vo., cloth, 5s. net.

Collingwood—THORSTEIN OF THE MERE: a Saga of the Northmen in Lakeland. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, Author of 'Life of John Ruskin,' etc. With Illustrations. Price 10s. 6d.

Collingwood—THE BONDWOMAN. A Story of the Northmen in Lakeland. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD. Cloth, 16mo., 3s. 6d.

Collins—A TREASURY OF MINOR BRITISH POETRY. Selected and Arranged, with Notes, by J. CHURTON COLLINS, M.A. Handsomely bound, crown 8vo., 7s. 6d.

Cook—THE DEFENSE OF POESY, otherwise known as AN APOLOGY FOR POETRY. By Sir PHILIP SIDNEY. Edited by A. S. COOK, Professor of English Literature in Yale University. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

Cook—A DEFENCE OF POETRY. By PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. Edited, with notes and introduction, by Professor A. S. COOK. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Davidson—A HANDBOOK TO DANTE. By GIOVANNI A. SCARTAZZINI. Translated from the Italian, with notes and additions, by THOMAS DAVIDSON, M.A. Crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

Ellacombe—THE PLANT-LORE AND GARDEN-CRAFT OF SHAKESPEARE. By the Rev. Canon ELLACOMBE, author of 'In a Gloucestershire Garden.' With 80 Illustrations, handsomely bound, 10s. 6d.

Fleming—THE ART OF READING AND SPEAKING. By the Rev. Canon FLEMING, Vicar of St. Michael's, Chester Square. Third edition. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

Garnett—SELECTIONS IN ENGLISH PROSE FROM ELIZABETH TO VICTORIA. Chosen and arranged by JAMES M. GARNETT, M.A., LL.D. 700 pages, large crown 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

Goschen—THE CULTIVATION AND USE OF IMAGINATION. By the Right Hon. GEORGE JOACHIM GOSCHEN. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

GREAT PUBLIC SCHOOLS. ETON — HARROW — WINCHESTER — RUGBY — WESTMINSTER — MARLBOROUGH — CHELTENHAM — HAILEYBURY — CLIFTON — CHARTERHOUSE. With nearly 100 Illustrations by the best artists. Cheaper edition. One vol., large imperial 16mo., handsomely bound, 3s. 6d.

Gummere—OLD ENGLISH BALLADS. Selected and Edited by FRANCIS B. GUMMERE, Professor of English in Haverford College, U.S.A. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s. 6d.

Harrison—STUDIES IN EARLY VICTORIAN LITERATURE. By FREDERIC HARRISON, M.A., Author of 'The Choice of Books,' etc. New and Cheaper Edition, large crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

Hartshorne—OLD ENGLISH GLASSES. (*See page* 3.)

Herschell—THE BEGGARS OF PARIS (Paris qui Mendie). Translated from the French of Louis Paulian by Lady HERSCHELL. Paper boards, 1s.

Hole—ADDRESSES TO WORKING MEN FROM PULPIT AND PLATFORM. By the Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester. One vol., crown 8vo., 6s.

Hudson—THE LIFE, ART, AND CHARACTERS OF SHAKESPEARE. By HENRY N. HUDSON, LL.D., Editor of *The Harvard Shakespeare*, etc. 969 pages, in two vols., large crown 8vo., cloth, 21s.

Hudson—THE HARVARD EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S COMPLETE WORKS. A fine Library Edition. By HENRY N. HUDSON, LL.D., Author of 'The Life, Art, and Characters of Shakespeare.' In twenty volumes, large crown 8vo., cloth, £6. Also in ten volumes, £5.

Hunt—Leigh Hunt's 'WHAT IS POETRY?' An Answer to the Question, 'What is Poetry?' including Remarks on Versification. By LEIGH HUNT. Edited, with notes, by Professor A. S. COOK. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Lang—LAMB'S ADVENTURES OF ULYSSES. With an Introduction by ANDREW LANG. Square 8vo., cloth, 1s. 6d. Also the Prize Edition, gilt edges, 2s.

Maud—WAGNER'S HEROES. Parsifal—Tannhauser—Lohengrin—Hans Sachs. By CONSTANCE MAUD. Illustrated by H. GRANVILLE FELL. Second Edition, crown 8vo., 5s.

Maud—WAGNER'S HEROINES. Brunhilda—Senta—Isolda. By CONSTANCE MAUD. Illustrated by T. W. MAUD. Crown 8vo., 5s.

Morrison—LIFE'S PRESCRIPTION, In Seven Doses. By D. MACLAREN MORRISON. Crown 8vo., parchment, 1s. 6d.

Pearson—THE CHANCES OF DEATH. (*See page* 3.)

Rodd—FEDA, and other Poems, chiefly Lyrical. By RENNELL RODD, C.M.G. With etched Frontispiece. Crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

Rodd—THE UNKNOWN MADONNA, and other Poems. By RENNELL RODD, C.M.G. With Frontispiece by RICHMOND. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

Rodd—THE VIOLET CROWN, AND SONGS OF ENGLAND. By RENNELL RODD, C.M.G. With Photogravure Frontispiece. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

Rodd—THE CUSTOMS AND LORE OF MODERN GREECE. By RENNELL RODD, C.M.G. With 7 full-page Illustrations. 8vo., cloth, 8s. 6d.

Schelling—A BOOK OF ELIZABETHAN LYRICS. Selected and Edited by F. E. SCHELLING, Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s. 6d.

Schelling—BEN JONSON'S TIMBER. Edited by Professor F. E. SCHELLING. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s.

Sichel—THE STORY OF TWO SALONS. Madame de Beaumont and the Suards. By EDITH SICHEL, Author of 'Worthington Junior.' With Illustrations. Large crown 8vo., cloth, 10s. 6d.

Thayer—THE BEST ELIZABETHAN PLAYS. Edited, with an Introduction, by WILLIAM R. THAYER. 612 pages, large crown 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d.

WINCHESTER COLLEGE. Illustrated by HERBERT MARSHALL. With Contributions in Prose and Verse by OLD WYKEHAMISTS. Demy 4to., cloth, 25s. net.' A few copies of the first edition, limited to 1,000 copies, are still to be had.

FICTION.

SIX SHILLING NOVELS.

A RELUCTANT EVANGELIST. By ALICE SPINNER, Author of 'Lucilla,' 'A Study in Colour,' etc. Cloth, 6s.

INTERLUDES. By MAUD OXENDEN. Cloth, 6s.

A MASK AND A MARTYR. By E. LIVINGSTON PRESCOTT, Author of 'The Apotheosis of Mr. Tyrawley.' Cloth, 6s.

HADJIRA: A Turkish Love Story. By 'ADALET.' 1 vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.
'One of the best stories of the season.'—*Daily Chronicle.*

TOMMY ATKINS. A Tale of the Ranks. By ROBERT BLATCHFORD, Author of 'A Son of the Forge,' 'Merrie England,' etc. Second Edition. Crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

ORMISDAL. A Novel. By the EARL OF DUNMORE, F.R.G.S., Author of 'The Pamirs.' One vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THE TUTOR'S SECRET. (Le Secret du Précepteur.) Translated from the French of VICTOR CHERBULIEZ. One vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

THREE SHILLING AND SIXPENNY NOVELS.

A DEVOTEE. By MARY CHOLMONDELEY. (*See page* 4.)

THE BAYONET THAT CAME HOME. A Greek Novel. By N. WYNN WILLIAMS, Author of 'Tales of Modern Greece.' Cloth, 3s. 6d.

ON THE THRESHOLD. By ISABELLA O. FORD, Author of 'Miss Blake of Monkshalton.' One vol., crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

THE MYSTERY OF THE RUE SOLY. Translated by Lady KNUTSFORD from the French of H. DE BALZAC. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

DAVE'S SWEETHEART. By MARY GAUNT. One vol., 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

MISTHER O'RYAN. An Incident in the History of a Nation. By EDWARD MCNULTY. Small 8vo., elegantly bound, 3s. 6d.

STEPHEN REMARX. The Story of a Venture in Ethics. By the Hon. and Rev. JAMES ADDERLEY, formerly Head of the Oxford House and Christ Church Mission, Bethnal Green. Twenty-Second Thousand. Small 8vo., elegantly bound, 3s. 6d. Also in paper cover, 1s.

HALF-CROWN NOVELS.

WORTH WHILE. By F. F. MONTRÉSOR, Author of 'Into the Highways and Hedges.' Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

LOVE-LETTERS OF A WORLDLY WOMAN. By Mrs. W. K. CLIFFORD, Author of 'Aunt Anne,' 'Mrs. Keith's Crime,' etc. One vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

THAT FIDDLER FELLOW: A Tale of St. Andrews. By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON, Author of 'My Wife's Politics,' 'Golf,' 'Creatures of Circumstance,' etc. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

TWO SHILLINGS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF 'THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE.'

GEORGE'S MOTHER. By STEPHEN CRANE. Cloth, 2s.

COUNTRY HOUSE—PASTIMES.

Ellacombe—IN A GLOUCESTERSHIRE GARDEN. By the Rev. H. N. ELLACOMBE, Vicar of Bitton, and Honorary Canon of Bristol. Author of 'Plant Lore and Garden Craft of Shakespeare.' With new illustrations by Major E. B. RICKETTS. Second Edition. Crown 8vo., cloth, 6s.

Hole—A BOOK ABOUT THE GARDEN AND THE GARDENER. By the Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester. Second edition. Crown 8vo., 6s.

Hole—A BOOK ABOUT ROSES. By the Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, Dean of Rochester. Illustrated by G. S. ELGOOD, R.I. Popular Edition, 3s. 6d. The Presentation Edition, with additional Coloured Plates by H. G. MOON, handsomely bound, 10s. 6d.

Brown—PLEASURABLE POULTRY-KEEPING. By E. BROWN, F.L.S. Fully illustrated. One vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

'Mr. Brown has established for himself a unique position in regard to this subject, and what he has to say is not only sound counsel, but is presented in a very readable form.'—*Nottingham Daily Guardian.*

Brown—POULTRY-KEEPING AS AN INDUSTRY FOR FARMERS AND COTTAGERS. By EDWARD BROWN. Fully illustrated. Second edition. Demy 4to., cloth, 6s.

Brown—INDUSTRIAL POULTRY-KEEPING. By EDWARD BROWN. Illustrated. Paper boards, 1s. A small handbook chiefly intended for cottagers and allotment-holders.

Brown—POULTRY FATTENING. By E. BROWN, F.L.S. Fully illustrated. New Edition. Crown 8vo., 1s. 6d.

White—PLEASURABLE BEE-KEEPING. By C. N. WHITE, Lecturer to the County Councils of Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, etc. Fully illustrated. One vol., crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Gossip—THE CHESS POCKET MANUAL. By G. H. D. GOSSIP. A Pocket Guide, with numerous Specimen Games and Illustrations. Small 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Cunningham—THE DRAUGHTS POCKET MANUAL. By J. G. CUNNINGHAM. An Introduction to the Game in all its branches. Small 8vo., with numerous diagrams, 2s. 6d.

Kenney-Herbert—COMMON-SENSE COOKERY: based on Modern English and Continental Principles, Worked out in Detail. By Colonel A. KENNEY-HERBERT ('Wyvern'). Large crown 8vo., over 500 pp., 7s. 6d.

Kenney-Herbert—FIFTY BREAKFASTS: containing a great variety of New and Simple Recipes for Breakfast Dishes. By Colonel KENNEY-HERBERT ('Wyvern'). Small 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Kenney-Herbert—FIFTY DINNERS. By Colonel KENNEY-HERBERT. Small 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Kenney-Herbert—FIFTY LUNCHES. By Colonel KENNEY-HERBERT. Small 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

Shorland—CYCLING FOR HEALTH AND PLEASURE. By L. H. PORTER, Author of 'Wheels and Wheeling,' etc. Revised and edited by F. W. SHORLAND, Amateur Champion 1892-93-94. With numerous Illustrations, small 8vo., 2s. 6d.

Holt—FANCY DRESSES DESCRIBED. By ARDERN HOLT. An Alphabetical Dictionary of Fancy Costumes. With full accounts of the Dresses. About 60 Illustrations by LILLIAN YOUNG. Many of them coloured. One vol., demy 8vo.

WILD FLOWERS IN ART AND NATURE. By J. C. L. SPARKES, Principal of the National Art Training School, South Kensington, and F. W. BURBIDGE, Curator of the University Botanical Gardens, Dublin. With 21 Full-page Coloured Plates by H. G. MOON. Royal 4to., handsomely bound, gilt edges, 21s.

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, ETC.

Bryan—THE MARK IN EUROPE AND AMERICA. A Review of the Discussion on Early Land Tenure. By ENOCH A. BRYAN, A.M., President of Vincennes University, Indiana. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. 6d.

Burgess—POLITICAL SCIENCE AND COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph.D., LL.D., Dean of the University Faculty of Political Science in Columbia College, U.S.A. In two volumes. Demy 8vo., cloth, 25s.

Fawcett—THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE. Being an Attempt to determine the First Principles of Metaphysics considered as an Inquiry into the Conditions and Import of Consciousness. By EDWARD DOUGLAS FAWCETT. One vol., demy 8vo., 14s.

Hopkins—THE RELIGIONS OF INDIA. (*See page* 7.)

Ladd—LOTZE'S PHILOSOPHICAL OUTLINES. Dictated Portions of the Latest Lectures (at Göttingen and Berlin) of Hermann Lotze. Translated and edited by GEORGE T. LADD, Professor of Philosophy in Yale College. About 180 pages in each volume. Crown 8vo., cloth, 4s. each. Vol. I. Metaphysics. Vol. II. Philosophy of Religion. Vol. III. Practical Philosophy. Vol. IV. Psychology. Vol. V. Æsthetics. Vol. VI. Logic.

THE JOURNAL OF MORPHOLOGY. Edited by C. O. WHITMAN, Professor of Biology in Clark University, U.S.A. Three numbers in a volume of 100 to 150 large 4to. pages, with numerous plates. Single numbers, 17s. 6d.; subscription to the volume of three numbers, 45s. Volumes I. to X. can now be obtained, and the first number of Volume XI. is ready.

Morgan—ANIMAL LIFE AND INTELLIGENCE. By Professor C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.G.S., Principal of University College, Bristol. With 40 Illustrations and a Photo-etched Frontispiece. Second Edition. Demy 8vo., cloth, 16s.

Morgan—HABIT AND INSTINCT: A Study in Heredity. By Professor C. LLOYD MORGAN, Author of 'Animal Life and Intelligence.' Based on the Author's 'Lowell Lectures' in 1895-96. Demy 8vo., 16s.

Morgan—THE SPRINGS OF CONDUCT. By Professor C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.G.S. Cheaper Edition. Large crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Morgan—PSYCHOLOGY FOR TEACHERS. By Professor C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.G.S. With a Preface by Sir JOSHUA FITCH, LL.D., late one of H.M. Chief Inspectors of Training Colleges. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Pearson—Chances of Death. (*See page* 3.)

Paget—WASTED RECORDS OF DISEASE. By CHARLES E. PAGET, Lecturer on Public Health in the Owens College, Medical Officer of Health for the County Borough of Salford. Crown 8vo., cloth, 2s. 6d.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW. Edited by J. G. SCHURMAN, Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University, U.S.A. Six Numbers a year. Single Numbers, 3s. 6d.; Annual Subscription, 14s. post free. The first number was issued in January, 1892.

Shaw—A TEXT-BOOK OF NURSING FOR HOME AND HOSPITAL USE. By C. WEEKS SHAW. Revised and largely rewritten by W. RADFORD, House Surgeon at the Poplar Hospital, under the supervision of Sir DYCE DUCKWORTH, M.D., F.R.C.P. Fully Illustrated, crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

Young—A GENERAL ASTRONOMY. By CHARLES A. YOUNG, Professor of Astronomy in the College of New Jersey, Associate of the Royal Astronomical Society, Author of *The Sun*, etc. In one vol., 550 pages, with 250 Illustrations, and supplemented with the necessary tables. Royal 8vo., half morocco, 12s. 6d.

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

FIVE SHILLINGS EACH.

SNOW-SHOES AND SLEDGES. By KIRK MUNROE. Fully illustrated. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

RICK DALE. By KIRK MUNROE. Fully illustrated. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

ERIC THE ARCHER. By MAURICE H. HERVEY. With numerous full-page Illustrations. Handsomely bound, crown 8vo., 5s.

THE FUR SEAL'S TOOTH. By KIRK MUNROE. Fully illustrated. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

HOW DICK AND MOLLY WENT ROUND THE WORLD. By M. H. CORNWALL LEGH. With numerous Illustrations. Fcap. 4to., cloth, 5s.

HOW DICK AND MOLLY SAW ENGLAND. By M. H. CORNWALL LEGH. With numerous Illustrations. Foolscap 4to., 5s.

DR. GILBERT'S DAUGHTERS. By MARGARET HARRIET MATHEWS. Illustrated by CHRIS. HAMMOND. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

THE REEF OF GOLD. By MAURICE H. HERVEY. With numerous full-page Illustrations, handsomely bound. Gilt edges, 5s.

BAREROCK; or, The Island of Pearls. By HENRY NASH. With numerous Illustrations by LANCELOT SPEED. Large crown 8vo., handsomely bound, gilt edges, 5s.

THREE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE EACH.

TALES FROM HANS ANDERSEN. With nearly 40 Original Illustrations by E. A. LEMANN. Small 4to., handsomely bound in cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE SNOW QUEEN, and other Tales. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. Beautifully illustrated by Miss E. A. LEMANN. Small 4to., handsomely bound, 3s. 6d.

HUNTERS THREE. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of 'The Boy Travellers,' etc. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE SECRET OF THE DESERT. By E. D. FAWCETT. With numerous full-page Illustrations. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

JOEL: A BOY OF GALILEE. By ANNIE FELLOWS JOHNSTON. With ten full-page Illustrations. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE MUSHROOM CAVE. By EVELYN RAYMOND. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

THE DOUBLE EMPEROR. By W. LAIRD CLOWES, Author of 'The Great Peril,' etc. Illustrated. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

SWALLOWED BY AN EARTHQUAKE. By E. D. FAWCETT. Illustrated. Crown 8vo., 3s. 6d.

HARTMANN THE ANARCHIST; or, The Doom of the Great City. By E. DOUGLAS FAWCETT. With sixteen full-page and numerous smaller Illustrations by F. T. JANE. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

ANIMAL SKETCHES: a Popular Book of Natural History. By Professor C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.G.S. Crown 8vo., cloth, 3s. 6d.

TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE EACH.

The Children's Hour Series.

All with Full-page Illustrations.

THE PALACE ON THE MOOR. By E. DAVENPORT ADAMS. 2s. 6d.

TOBY'S PROMISE. By A. M. HOPKINSON. 2s. 6d.

MASTER MAGNUS. By Mrs. E. M. FIELD. 2s. 6d.

MY DOG PLATO. By M. H. CORNWALL LEGH. 2s. 6d.

FRIENDS OF THE OLDEN TIME. By ALICE GARDNER, Lecturer in History at Newnham College, Cambridge. Second Edition. Illustrated. Square 8vo., 2s. 6d.

TWO SHILLINGS EACH.

THE CHILDREN'S FAVOURITE SERIES. A Charming Series of Juvenile Books, each plentifully Illustrated, and written in simple language to please young readers. Handsomely bound, and designed to form an attractive and entertaining series of gift-books for presents and prizes. The utmost care has been taken to maintain a thoroughly healthy tone throughout the Series, combined with entertaining and interesting reading. *Price 2s. each; or gilt edges, 2s. 6d.*

My Book of Wonders.
My Book of Travel Stories.
My Book of Adventures.
My Book of the Sea.
My Book of Fables.
Deeds of Gold.
My Book of Heroism.
My Book of Perils.
My Book of Fairy Tales.
My Book of History Tales.
My Story Book of Animals.
Rhymes for You and Me.
My Book of Inventions.

Index to Authors.

	PAGE
ADAMS.—The Palace on the Moor	14
ADDERLEY.—Stephen Remarx	11
ALDRICH.—Arctic Alaska	6
AMERICAN GAME FISHES	6
BALFOUR.—Twelve Hundred Miles in a Waggon	5
BELL, MRS.—Kleines Haustheater	8
BELL (REV. CANON).—Sermons	8
,, Diana's Looking Glass	8
,, Poems Old and New	8
BENSON.—Men of Might	6
BEYNON.—With Kelly to Chitral	5
BLATCHFORD.—Tommy Atkins	10
BOYLE.—Recollections of the Dean of Salisbury	6
BROWN.—Works on Poultry Keeping	11
BRYAN.—Mark in Europe	12
BULL.—The Cruise of the 'Antarctic'	5
BURBIDGE.—Wild Flowers in Art	12
BURGESS.—Political Science	12
BUTLER.—Select Essays of Sainte Beuve	8
CAWSTON.—The Early Chartered Companies	7
CHAPMAN.—Wild Norway	3
CHERBULIEZ.—The Tutor's Secret	10
CHILDREN'S FAVOURITE SERIES	14
CHILDREN'S HOUR SERIES	14
CHOLMONDELEY.—A Devotee	4
CLIFFORD.—Love-Letters	11
CLOUGH.—Memoir of Miss A. J. Clough	3
CLOUSTON.—Early English Furniture	4
CLOWES.—Double Emperor	14
COLLINGWOOD.—Thorstein	8
,, The Bondwoman	8
COLLINS.—A Treasury of Minor British Poetry	8
COLVILE.—Land of the Nile Springs	5
COOK.—Sidney's Defense of Poesy	8
,, Shelley's Defence of Poetry	8
COSMOPOLITE.—Sportsman in Ireland	4
CRANE.—George's Mother	11
CUNNINGHAM.—Draughts Manual	12
CUSTANCE.—Riding Recollections	5
DAVIDSON.—Handbook to Dante	8
DUNMORE.—Ormisdal	10
ELLACOMBE.—In a Gloucestershire Garden	11
ELLACOMBE.—The Plant Lore of Shakespeare	9
FAWCETT.—Hartmann the Anarchist	14
FAWCETT.—Riddle of the Universe	12
FAWCETT.—Secret of the Desert	14
,, Swallowed by an Earthquake	14
FIELD.—Master Magnus	14
FLEMING.—Art of Reading and Speaking	9
FORD.—On the Threshold	10
FOWLER.—Echoes of Old County Life	7
FRESHFIELD.—Exploration of the Caucasus	5
GARDNER.—Friends of Olden Time	14
GARNETT.—Selections in English Prose	9
GAUNT.—Dave's Sweetheart	10
GORDON.—Persia Revisited	5
GOSCHEN.—Cultivation and Use of the Imagination	9
GOSSIP.—Chess Pocket Manual	11
GREAT PUBLIC SCHOOLS	9
GUMMERE.—Old English Ballads	9
HADJIRA	10
HALL.—Fish Tails	2
HANS ANDERSEN.—Snow Queen	14
,, Tales from	14
HARE.—Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth	7
HARRISON.—Early Victorian Literature	9
HARTSHORNE.—Old English Glasses	3
HERSCHELL.—Parisian Beggars	2, 9
HERVEY.—Eric the Archer	13
,, Reef of Gold	13
HIGGINS.—New Guide to the Pacific Coast	6
HOLE.—Addresses to Working Men	9
HOLE.—Book about Roses	11
,, Book about the Garden	11
,, Little Tour in America	5
,, Little Tour in Ireland	5
,, Memories	7
,, More Memories	7

	PAGE
HOLT.—Fancy Dresses Described	12
HOPKINSON.—Toby's Promise	14
HOPKINS.—Religions of India	7
HUDSON.—Life, Art, and Characters of Shakespeare	9
,, Harvard Shakespeare	9
HUNT.—What is Poetry?	9
HUTCHINSON.—That Fiddler Fellow	11
JOHNSTON.—Joel; a Boy of Galilee	14
KAY.—Omarah's Yaman	7
KENNEY-HERBERT.—Fifty Breakfasts	12
,, ,, Fifty Dinners	12
,, ,, Fifty Lunches	12
,, ,, Common-sense Cookery	12
KNIGHT-BRUCE.—Memories of Mashonaland	7
KNOX.—Hunters Three	27
KNUTSFORD.—Mystery of the Rue Soly	10
LANG.—Lamb's Adventures of Ulysses	9
LECKY.—Political Value of History	7
LE FANU.—Seventy Years of Irish Life	7
LEFFINGWELL.—Art of Wing-Shooting	6
LEGH.—How Dick and Molly went round the World	13
LEGH.—How Dick and Molly saw England	13
LEGH.—My Dog Plato	14
LOTZE.—Philosophical Outlines	12
MACDONALD.—Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa	1
MATHEWS.—Dr. Gilbert's Daughters	13
MAUD.—Wagner's Heroes	9
,, Wagner's Heroines	9
MAXWELL.—The Sportsman's Library	4
,, Memories of the Months	4
MCNAB.—On Veldt and Farm	2
MCNULTY.—Misther O'Ryan	11
MILNER.—England in Egypt	7
,, Arnold Toynbee	7
MONTRESOR.—Worth While	11
MORGAN.—Animal Life	12
,, Animal Sketches	1
,, Habit and Instinct	13
,, Psychology for Teachers	13
,, Springs of Conduct	13
MORPHOLOGY, JOURNAL OF	12
MORRISON.—Life's Prescription	9
MUNROE.—Fur Seal's Tooth	13
,, Rick Dale	13
,, Snow-shoes and Sledges	13
NASH.—Bare rock	13
OMAN.—History of England	7
OXENDEN.—Interludes	10
PAGET.—Wasted Records of Disease	2, 13
PEARSON.—The Chances of Death	3
PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW	13
PIKE.—Through the Sub-Arctic Forest	5
PILKINGTON.—An Eton Playing-Field	7
POLLOK.—Fifty Years' Reminiscences of India	5
POPE.—Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald	7
PORTAL.—British Mission to Uganda	6
,, My Mission to Abyssinia	6
PRESCOTT.—A Mask and a Martyr	8
PULITZER.—Romance of Prince Eugene	7
RALEIGH.—Robert Louis Stevenson	7
RANSOME.—Battles of Frederick the Great	8
RAYMOND.—Mushroom Cave	14
ROCHEFORT.—The Adventures of My Life	8
RODD.—Works by Rennell Rodd	9
SANTLEY.—Student and Singer	8
SCHELLING.—Elizabethan Lyrics	10
,, Ben Jonson's Timber	10
SHAW.—A Text Book of Nursing	13
SHERARD.—Alphonse Daudet	8
SHIELDS.—Camping and Camp Outfits	6
SHIELDS.—American Book of the Dog	6
SHORLAND.—Cycling for Health and Pleasure	12
SICHEL—The Story of Two Salons	10
SLATIN.—Fire and Sword in the Sudan	6
SMITH.—The Life of a fox	6
,, Through Unknown African Countries	1
SPINNER.—A Reluctant Evangelist	10
STONE.—In and Beyond the Himalayas	5
TATHAM.—Men of Might	6
THAYER.—Best Elizabethan Plays	10
THOMAS.—Sweden and the Swedes	6
THORNTON.—A Sporting Tour	6
TOLLEMACHE.—Benjamin Jowett	8
TWINING.—Recollections of Life and Work	8
WHITE.—Pleasurable Bee-Keeping	11
WILD FLOWERS IN ART AND NATURE	12
WILLIAMS.—The Bayonet that came Home	10
WINCHESTER COLLEGE	10
YOUNG.—General Astronomy	13

Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 010 293 079

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

F/S DEC 12 1996
JUN 30 1997
JAN 0 2 2001
MAY 03 2001